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CIVIL WARS OF PERU

BY

PEDRO DE CIEZA DE LEÓN

[PART IV: BOOK II]

THE WAR OF CHUPAS

TRANSLATED AND EDITED, WITH NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION,

BY

SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B.
F.R.S., D.SC. (CAMBRIDGE AND LEEDS)

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY
MCMXVIII

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CORRIGENDA

Page 49, line 13, *for* "Alvarado" *read* "Alvaro."
Page 51, line 9, *for* "García" *read* "Gómez."
Page 52, line 10 from bottom, *omit* "de" *before* "Balsa."
Page 79, line 6 from bottom, *insert* "he" *after* "Thence."
Page 108, last line, *for* "Billar" *read* "Bilbao."
Page 111, line 4 from bottom, *for* "Gómez" *read* "López."
Page 149, line 18, *for* "Francesco" *read* "Francisco."
Page 260, line 7 from bottom, *for* "emergency" *read* "exigency."
Page 280, lines 2 and 3, *transpose* "Guevara" *and* "Vergara."
Page 293, line 9, *insert* Salazar, *at the beginning.*

NOTE

THE late Sir Clements Markham translated Cieza de León's "Guerra de Chupas," and wrote the Introduction to the present volume, at the advanced age of eighty-five years. His manuscript was accepted by the Council of the Hakluyt Society in November, 1915; but, though the printing was already in a forward state at the time of Sir Clement's lamented death, none of the proofs were available for submission to him. In these circumstances the Council invited us to undertake the necessary revision —a responsibility which we accepted in the light of a privilege, and have discharged, to the best of our ability, as a tribute to the memory of the late venerable President of the Society, who honoured each of us by many years of personal friendship.

ALFRED P. MAUDSLAY.
B. GLANVILL CORNEY.

LONDON,
January, 1918.

INTRODUCTION

PEDRO DE CIEZA DE LEÓN was, on the whole, the most important historian, and is now the best authority, on ancient Peru, so far as his work has reached us; for he was a great traveller, and an eye-witness of much that he described. For all the events at which he was not present he received evidence from many actors in them. He was an intelligent observer, humane and conscientious, striving after impartiality; and though an enthusiastic admirer of the valour and endurance of his countrymen, he was horrified at their acts of cruelty, which he denounces in no measured terms.

Unfortunately only one part of his great work was published near the time; other parts long lost have been found and published in recent years, and some yet remain to be discovered. I, the first part, published in 1553, was the "Cronica," which is mainly geographical. II, the second part, was the History and Religion of the Incas; III, the Conquest of Peru; IV, V, VI, and VII, the Civil Wars, viz.—1 War of Las Salinas, 2 War of Chupas, 3 War of Quito, and 4 War of Huarina and Sacsahuana. III and VII are still lost to us. Cieza de León also wrote a book entitled "Libro de Funda-

ciones," to which he frequently refers the reader for fuller details respecting habits and customs of Indian tribes and other particulars. That work is also lost.

The Council of the Hakluyt Society selected the first part of the "Cronica" of Cieza de León to form a volume of its series in 1864, and the translation and editing were entrusted to me. It is a valuable contribution to the geography of the Cauca valley in Colombia, and of Peru; while the author's account of the coast almost amounts to a book of sailing directions. In 1880, II, the history of the Incas, was brought to light, and texts were printed by the late Dr. González Rosa in 1873, and also by Jiménez de la Espada in 1880. This exceedingly valuable account of Inca civilization was known to Mr. Prescott, and he frequently quotes from it; but he was not aware of Cieza de León being the author.[1] This part was chosen by the Council to be included in the Hakluyt Society's series in 1883, and I again undertook the work of translation and editing.

Quite recently three of the volumes on the Civil Wars of Peru by Cieza de León have been discovered in manuscript, and published at Madrid. "The War of Quito," covering the period from the arrival of the Viceroy Blasco Núñez Vela to his death at

[1] The manuscript in Mr. Prescott's hands appears to have had on the cover the name of Dr. Sarmiento, President of the Council of the Indies, to whom it was addressed. Mr. Prescott supposed that he was the author, and always quotes the manuscript as by Sarmiento.

Anaquito, was translated and edited by me, forming one of the Hakluyt Society's volumes for 1912. I have also translated and edited the "War of Las Salinas," giving a detailed account of the dispute between Pizarro and Almagro, which ended with the battle of Las Salinas and the execution of Almagro by Hernando Pizarro.

The present volume, by Cieza de León, is entitled "The War of Chupas," and contains a detailed narrative of events from the battle of Las Salinas to the final overthrow of the Almagro faction at the battle of Chupas, including the murder of Pizarro, the arrival of Vaca de Castro as governor, the campaign against Almagro the younger, the promulgation of the New Laws, and the appointment of Blasco Núñez Vela as viceroy to enforce them.

These Civil War volumes contain a great deal that is of geographical interest, especially in the detailed accounts of expeditions of discovery into the forests to the east of the Andes, which to this day are not fully explored. Cieza de León gives connected narratives of the expedition of Pedro de Candía into the *montaña* of Paucartambo, of that of Pedro Anzures de Camporredondo who entered by Marcapata and returned by one of the Caravaya ravines, of Diego de Rojas into the Gran Chaco, of Alvarado and Mercadillo in the valleys of the Marañón and the Huallaga, and of Gonzalo Pizarro into the "land of cinnamon." I translated and edited for the Hakluyt Society in 1858 the account of this last expedition in the Royal Commentaries of Gar-

cilaso Inca de la Vega. The independent account by Cieza de León contains many details obtained by him at Quito from members of the expedition very soon after the event, and is therefore of special interest.

The present volume opens with an account of the extensive journey from Cuzco to the Collao made by Francisco Pizarro, who had been created a Marquis for his great services, and treats of his visit to Arequipa when he founded that city. He had founded Guamanga previous to this journey. He returned, prematurely old and broken with disease, to welcome rest in his house at Lima, or Los Reyes, as the city was then called, devoting himself mainly to business connected with the grants of estates to his followers and with the improvement of the city he had founded, interesting himself in the introduction and cultivation of new plants, the erection of mills, and the supply of provisions.

Cieza de León then, in the next fifteen chapters, makes a digression which must be acknowledged as such, for these chapters have nothing to do with the war of Chupas. They contain a narrative of discoveries and conquests in the region of the Upper Cauca, with Popayán and Cali as bases of operations, chiefly conducted by a leader named Jorge Robledo. They are to a certain extent connected with the history of Peru, because Pizarro nominated the governors who despatched the expeditions. The real cause of the digression was that Cieza de León was serving in these expeditions himself. He was

an eye-witness of the events he describes in detail. This gives them a very special interest, and may well be accepted as a sufficient excuse for the digression. The story of the famous expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro follows, and our author then enters upon the events at Lima which led up to the murder of the Marquis Pizarro.[1]

In the question between Pizarro and Almagro our author strove hard to be impartial, as well as in his account of the murder of the Marquis; but his bias on the side of Almagro is apparent. In the case of Pizarro he tells the authentic story, but he adds any lying gossip that reaches his ears. In the case of Almagro he never does.

I should be the last to defend Pizarro as the destroyer of the Inca empire. As such I execrate his memory. He had no right to execute Atahualpa, although that ruthless usurper and fratricide richly deserved his fate. Pizarro was guilty of several acts of cruelty, his worst crime being the order to put Manco's wife to a cruel death when he was enraged at receiving defiance from the Inca; but I feel that in affairs connected with his countrymen his memory should receive even justice, and that he has been misjudged.

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[1] Pizarro had *encomiendas* in places called Atabillos and Huaylas, and it has been said that he was Marquis of Atabillos, but this is a mistake. An elaborate coat of arms was granted to him, but no territorial title was ever attached to his Marquisate during his lifetime. He was simply the Marquis Pizarro. His great grandson was created Marquis *de la Conquista*. See also my note on page xxxviii.

Pizarro was no longer the ruthless soldier of the days of Pedrarias. With great responsibilities and a great position he rose to the occasion. His proceedings were statesmanlike; his efforts to govern wisely the country entrusted to him were able and judicious. In the question which arose when the Spanish king resolved to divide the vast conquered area between Almagro and himself, he was in the right throughout. Almagro, with a number of captains anxious for opportunities to enrich themselves, had set out on an expedition to Chile. Before starting Almagro took a solemn oath on the Sacrament that he would maintain his friendship for Pizarro and never injure him or his interests. Meanwhile there was a great native rising. Pizarro himself was besieged in Lima, while his three brothers held Cuzco against a great army led by the Inca Manco. Pizarro received aid from Mexico and Santo Domingo. The siege of Lima was raised, and Pizarro sent a force under Alonso de Alvarado to help his brothers at Cuzco, of whom he had received no news.

It was at this time that the royal order arrived for the division. The northern part of the conquered empire was to be called New Castille, and to be governed by Pizarro. The southern half, to be called New Toledo, was to be Almagro's government. The boundary between them was to be fixed by a royal arbitrator, not of course by one of the parties concerned. The rules for the guidance of the arbitrator were clear and precise. A certain position on the

coast north of the equator was to be fixed by observations for the latitude. A direct line was then to be taken on a meridian due south for a given number of leagues; at the end of that line there were to be other latitude observations, and from the point thus fixed the line west to east was to be the boundary. Mr. Prescott says that there was ambiguity in the document, that it was not clear whether the line was to be along the coast or on a meridian, and he appears to think there were, therefore, excuses for Almagro's conduct; but there was no ambiguity. The instructions were quite clear, and it is distinctly stated that the line was to be on a meridian.[1] Mr. Prescott could not have seen the original document, which is given in full by Cieza de León. Besides, this begs the question. The point is that the boundary was to be decided by a special arbitrator, not by Almagro.

A copy was at once sent to Almagro, who was then returning from Chile, his captains being much disappointed with the region they had visited in the northern part of that country. They thought that the provinces of Cuzco would offer much better chances of enriching themselves, so they at once declared, and induced Almagro to declare, that Cuzco was within the boundary of New Toledo. No positions had been fixed, no line measured, no observa-

[1] In my note to the "Life and Arts of Don Alonso Curíguez de Guzmán" I was misled, by Mr. Prescott's statement that it was not specified how the line was to be measured, into an error. It was clearly specified that the line was to be measured on a meridian and not along the coast.

tions taken; but Almagro and his needy followers wanted Cuzco—therefore it was in New Toledo. They even claimed Lima also. The point is not what Almagro thought; for the decision was not entrusted to him, but to the royal arbitrator. In point of fact, Cuzco was well within the boundary of Pizarro's province of New Castille. Long afterwards the Governor Vaca de Castro caused careful observations to be taken, and Cuzco was found to be fifteen leagues north of the boundary.[1]

Hernando Pizarro and his brother Gonzalo, having lost their brother Juan in the siege, were resting after a long, toilsome, and hazardous defence of Cuzco. Hernando was in a perfectly legal position as the Marquis Pizarro's deputy at Cuzco until the boundary should be settled by the arbitrator.

Suddenly the army of Almagro appeared before the city of Cuzco, claiming it as part of the province of New Toledo. Hernando Pizarro, terribly outnumbered, prepared to defend it. A truce was agreed upon, and Hernando for the first time for many days took off his armour and went to bed. His brother Gonzalo and a handful of attendants were in the house with him.

Almagro perjured himself, broke into Cuzco in the dead of night, and attacked the Pizarros in their

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[1] This was done owing to the representations of royal officials who had been appointed to the province of New Toledo. After the time of Vaca de Castro, there was no more heard of New Toledo. The Viceroys were appointed to govern the whole of Peru.

house.[1] They made a heroic defence, which is well described by Cieza de León.[2] Finally they were seized and thrown into prison; while Orgóñez, Almagro's chief captain, incessantly urged him to behead them. By this time Alvarado was nearing Cuzco with succour for Hernando Pizarro. Almagro attacked and routed him, throwing him into prison, and threatening him with death.

It can hardly be contended that Almagro was not guilty of perjury, and of numerous acts of illegality, tyranny, and treason.

The Marquis Pizarro was very anxious to receive tidings from Cuzco, for he had heard nothing even of the results of the siege. He had gone southward along the coast to Nasca. There he received the astounding news that Almagro had seized Cuzco and imprisoned his brothers. The report of the defeat and imprisonment of Alvarado quickly followed. The Governor hurried back to Lima, expecting an attack from his false and perjured friend. It was not long in coming. Almagro marched down to the coast and advanced as far as Chincha, on the way to Lima. He was induced to agree to an arbitration to establish a *modus vivendi* until the royal arbitrator should arrive and fix the boundary line. The Provincial of the Fathers of Mercy (*Mercedarios*) named

[1] A lame excuse was invented afterwards that Hernando Pizarro, during the truce, had broken down the bridges over the Huatanay, the river that flows through Cuzco. This was false. He had broken down one bridge, for military reasons, *before* the truce.

[2] In his "War of Las Salinas."

Bobadilla, was selected by Almagro himself. There could only be one fair decision. It was that Almagro should retire from Cuzco until the boundary was fixed by the royal arbitrator, that the starting point for measuring the meridional line should have its latitude fixed by careful observations, and that the illegal imprisonment of Hernando Pizarro should cease. Almagro refused to abide by this arbitration, although he had solemnly promised to do so and the choice of an arbitrator was his own. Soon afterwards Captain Pedro Anzures brought out a royal order to the same effect, that both Governors should remain well within their respective provinces, until the boundary was fixed. Almagro again refused to obey.

The Marquis Pizarro was in great anxiety for the safety of his brother Hernando. He knew him to be in danger, as Orgóñez was incessantly urging Almagro to put him to death. At this time the Marquis, in his well-founded anxiety for his brother's safety, was certainly guilty of making some concessions, verbally, which he had no intention of observing.

Almagro was very efficient in his prime, as Pizarro's partner and assistant, but he was now bowed down by age, as well as by infirmities the seeds of which he had contracted during a dissolute youth. His good qualities, which endeared him to his captains, were lavish generosity and a kindly disposition. He had become very ambitious, and it is clear that he was quite unprincipled. His own independent judgment scarcely existed, and he was

swayed one way or the other, as the more violent or the more moderate of his captains had his ear. For instance, following the advice of Orgóñez, he had actually ordered the execution of Alvarado when the more moderate counsels of another captain prevented it.

The weak character of Almagro explains the liberation of Hernando Pizarro, urged upon him by the moderate party among his captains. It was certainly unwise if Almagro intended to persevere in his treasonable practices; and Orgóñez was most strongly opposed to it. Hernando Pizarro had been kept in close and illegal confinement for months, and he knew that the most influential of Almagro's captains was constantly urging that he should be beheaded. It was enough to try any one's nerves. But Hernando Pizarro's nerves were of iron. The moment he was released negotiations ceased. The Marquis, owing to advancing age and infirmities, returned to Lima, while his brother Hernando took command of the army in the field. He was by far the ablest soldier then in Peru. Almagro, suffering from a dreadful disease, retreated with his forces to Cuzco, intending to hold that city in defiance of all decisions against him. Such was the resolve come to by his captains.

Hernando Pizarro was certainly in the right when he marched to Cuzco to resume the position of deputy for his brother in that city, from which he had been unlawfully and treacherously ejected. He entirely defeated the Almagro faction in the battle

of Las Salinas, and returned to his post at Cuzco, making Almagro his prisoner, and keeping the old man's captains under a loose arrest.

Hernando Pizarro was a stern, resolute man, inexorable when once his mind was made up, but not cruel. He always disapproved of the ill treatment of the natives, and took measures to prevent it. At first he had no other intention with regard to old Almagro than to leave his case to be decided by his brother on his arrival at Cuzco. But there was a conspiracy among the officers who had served in the expedition of Pedro de Candía, and the troops under their command, to kill Hernando Pizarro and liberate Almagro. They were outside Cuzco and needed help from within If they had written to one of the more turbulent Almagrist captains, the plot would probably have succeeded. But they chose Diego de Alvarado, a strictly conscientious person who told everything to Hernando Pizarro. That vigilant deputy at once went to the camp of Pedro de Candía and nipped the plot in the bud.

But he came to the conclusion that there could be no permanent peace while Almagro lived. When he had made up his mind nothing would move him. He looked upon it as a political necessity. He resolved to take the whole responsibility upon himself. The charges were drawn up in detail, and when the old man begged for his life Hernando urged him, as it was inevitable, to end his life as became one who had served as he had done. Hernando Pizarro certainly did not communicate with his brother on

the subject, because, though convinced of the political necessity himself, he knew that the Marquis would not consent. He took the whole responsibility, which was quite in character with all we know of this remarkable man. He returned to Spain soon afterwards with the royal fifths, but several members of Almagro's party had arrived before him. Articles were drawn up against him, and he never received a fair hearing. Charles V could not possibly attend personally to the affairs of all his vast dominions. Much was necessarily left to others. In Spain a clever intriguer had gained his confidence. This was the Secretary, Francisco de los Cobos, who had much power during the Emperor's absence, and he often used it corruptly and to please his friends, especially the females of his own family. There was a flagrant instance in the supersession of the illustrious discoverer of New Granada, for the sake of such an infamous thief as Alonso de Lugo, because he had married a sister of the wife of Cobos. The persecution of Hernando Pizarro was a parallel case. Don Alonso Enríquez de Guzmán, a violent partisan of Almagro, had hurried back to Spain, so as to spread his version, and do all the mischief he could before the arrival of Hernando Pizarro. He was an old friend of the Secretary Cobos, and when Hernando Pizarro arrived it was a foregone conclusion against him. Charges had been drawn up, the chief one being that he had given the young Inca Manco leave of absence, ignorant of the native plot for an insurrection. At the worst this was an

error in judgment which might well have been condoned after Hernando's brilliant defence of Cuzco. The main points were slurred over, for the answers to them would have been conclusive. Hernando Pizarro was unjustly condemned to imprisonment, first at Madrid, then in the castle of Medina del Campo.[1]

As soon as the Marquis received tidings of the victory of Las Salinas, he resolved to leave Lima and make the journey to Cuzco, accompanied by the Bishop of Quito and other friends. At Jauja he met young Diego de Almagro, who had been sent to Lima in charge of Gómez de Alvarado, one of his father's captains. Pizarro received him very kindly, promised him that his father's life should be spared, and ordered that the lad himself should be hospitably lodged in the Marquis's own house at Lima. Continuing the journey, it was not until they reached Abancay, three marches from Cuzco, that Pizarro received news of the death of Almagro. He sat apart for a long time, looking on the ground, and thinking of bygone days with his old friend.

[1] Hernando Pizarro was in prison in the castle of Medina del Campo for twenty-three years, a terrible fate for so active minded a man. His detention, however, was not close or severe. When the daughter of the Marquis Pizarro, by an Inca Princess, arrived in Spain under the care of her step-father Francisco de Ampuero, she was married to her uncle Hernando in prison. At length the old warrior was released, having outlived all his enemies. He went to Truxillo, where he had property, and lived there to a great age. Hernando Pizarro had children, and the marquisate was revived for his grandson, with the additional title "*de la Conquista.*" The new Marquis was a great-grandson of the Marquis Pizarro and also of the Inca Huayna Ccapac.

Mr. Prescott and others maintain that the Marquis knew and approved of the execution of Almagro, and must share the responsibility with his brother. For this view the only shadow of evidence is that there would have been time to obtain his approval. But there is clear and distinct evidence that Pizarro did not know. It consists in the statement of his travelling companion, the Bishop of Quito.

Throughout this Almagro business, the conduct of the Marquis Pizarro was correct. Almagro, or rather his captains, were the aggressors, acting illegally, and treasonably, with a view to their own enrichment.

We next come to the detailed account which Cieza de León gives of the assassination of the Marquis. Naturally the captains and soldiers of Almagro's army could hardly expect to receive rewards. Yet Pizarro very kindly offered *repartimientos* to at least three of Almagro's old captains[1] and a good appointment to another.[2] They were ready for any plot that would secure a change, and they looked to young Diego de Almagro as the possible leader of a rising in their favour. They, therefore, came crowding to Lima, where Diego was. The plea of vengeance for Almagro's death did not influence more than a very few. Perhaps old servants like Herrada and Balsa, may have mingled some vindictive feeling with less worthy motives.

[1] Saavedra, Sotelo, and Chaves (the bad one of the two).

[2] Gómez de Alvarado.

Those who might really have had such thoughts, however, were Almagro's intimate friends—his old captains; yet not one of them [1] would have anything to do with the plot of the assassins. Vaca de Castro was on his way to examine and report on the whole subject, and they would await his decision. It was a plot evolved by the scum of Almagro's faction, headed by Juan de Herrada, an old servant who saw his way to a higher position as the chief adviser and protector of young Diego who was himself too young to take an active part. The poverty of Almagro and his followers has been grossly exaggerated. The extensive purchases by them of arms and armour and horses, proves that there was no want of money.

In this volume Cieza de León gives the best and most authentic account of the murder of the Marquis. Pizarro's heedlessness, in spite of numerous warnings, is indeed surprising. He went for walks outside Lima quite alone, especially when he wished to inspect the progress of a mill he was building. On these occasions he might easily have been assassinated, and perhaps his immunity led him to disbelieve in the danger.

It was in June 1847, when I was at a ball in the President's Palace at Lima, that I first began to enquire into the exact locality of Pizarro's house. I was dancing with a lady named Elespuru who said

[1] Except F. de Chaves (the bad one), who soon afterwards was put to death by Herrada.

it was not there, but on the opposite side of the *plaza*. Two aides de camp told the same story, that it was on the site of the present Callejón de Petateros. I still adhered to my own conviction—that the palace of the Viceroys, now that of the Presidents, is on the site of the residence of the Marquis. The question is at last set at rest by the publication of the *Libro primero de cabildos de Lima*, and of the geographical official reports. My conviction proved to be right, and I was dancing with the Señorita on or near the very spot where Pizarro fell. I have made a plan of part of Lima in those days, showing the residence of the Marquis, and those of citizens who had received *solares* or building lots near his house; and another of the house itself, according to the descriptions recorded by Cieza de León and others.

It is clear that Juan de Herrada and his gang of assassins were the scum of the old Almagro's army. All but one of his former captains held aloof, disapproving of the murder, and declining to serve under such a ruffian as Juan de Herrada. The younger Diego de Almagro was thus under every possible disadvantage. The captain Sotelo alone stood by him, and Sotelo was murdered by one of the same gang of assassins before he could be of any great use to the ill-fated youth. Several of his father's old captains, to whom Pizarro's murder was hateful, were serving against the son at the battle of Chupas. This lad was the first *mestizo* who rose to a very prominent position, and I have, therefore, written a note on his

career, at the end of the chapter (LXXXIV) containing an account of his execution. I believe that he was innocent of the murder. He thought that the object was to seize the Marquis, not to kill him. He said so in his letter to the *Audiencia* of Panamá.

Cieza de León gives a very interesting account of the voyage of Vaca de Castro to Buenaventura, and his journey thence into Peru, where he was joined by all the loyal captains. He also relates in detail, the murder of the captain Sotelo at Cuzco, the death of his murderer, and the proceedings of young Almagro until his final overthrow at the battle of Chupas and subsequent execution at Cuzco. The account of the battle of Chupas by Cieza de León is very interesting. It is as good as, but not better than, that of Zarate, who also came to Peru soon after the event. Neither of these authors knew the ground. Mr. Prescott writes of "the bloody plains of Chupas." There are no plains near the position; it is a very mountainous broken region. I spent a whole day carefully examining the site, on October 27th, 1852, and I have therefore added a special note on the position, to accompany our author's account of the battle (chapter LXXVII).

Mr. Prescott condemns the number of executions after the battle in the civil wars of Peru, referring especially to Chupas. But in the case of Chupas, out of twenty-six executions, fourteen were those of assassins, the rest were aiders and abettors of the criminals, also guilty of treason. The assassination of a royal governor was no common crime. After

the battle of Las Salinas there were no executions. That of Almagro was months afterwards, and for a different reason. The executions and barbarities of that cunning and cruel priest, Pedro de la Gasca, were, it is true, unjustifiable after Sacsahuana; but Mr. Prescott did not condemn them.

The final chapters of the present work are occupied by two very different subjects—the expedition led by Felipe Gutiérrez and Diego de Rojas, told in much detail, and the promulgation of the New Laws, with some account of their reception and of the appointment of Blasco Núñez Vela as Viceroy of Peru to enforce them. Cieza de León gives the complete text of the New Laws.

The Emperor Charles V was a statesman of ability and good intentions; but it was impossible, as has been already observed, for one man to give sufficient attention to all his vast dominions. Those numerous kingdoms, dukedoms, counties, and lordships are enumerated in the preamble to the New Laws. When at last he found time to attend to the affairs of the Indies it was twenty years too late. He was convinced by Las Casas and others that the Spaniards, in their haste to enrich themselves, were treating the Indians with such cruelty that it must needs lead to a serious diminution of the population in the near future. As a statesman, he saw clearly that the value of the Indies must depend on the preservation and good treatment of the native races. His view of the course it was best to adopt was statesmanlike. Probably without knowing it, Charles wished to

adopt the policy which the experience of ages had shown to be the best in all the countries of the East. The cultivator should be a vassal of the Crown; and what Charles V called the "tribute" of the Indians was simply the land tax of eastern countries, the *ryotwarry* system of Sir Thomas Munro in Madras. It was also the system of the Inca government, and was well understood by the people. As a rule, the State took two-thirds of the produce or its equivalent, and the cultivator retained one-third. In some cases the cultivator received seeds and implements. This land tax, or tribute, as the Spanish Government called it, should have been the main source of revenue. So far the Emperor's plan was excellent, but it came too late. It should have been announced and enforced from the very first, and rewards to the conquerors should have come from the State. In 1542 a very different and most tyrannical and ruinous system was in force. The land tax, with liberty to treat the natives as they pleased, had been to a very large extent alienated and granted to adventurers, usually for two or three lives. The Emperor hoped to obviate this almost insuperable difficulty by ordering all official bodies, whether civil or religious, to surrender their grants at once; and all others to cease on the death of the grantee, whether granted for two or three lives or not, some maintenance being allowed to widows and children. All grants that were considered too large were to be reduced to what a judge should decide to be a moderate size. For Mexico the names of those whose huge grants ought to be

cut down are given. In these ways Charles V seems to have intended that all the natives of the Indies should become vassals of the Crown, be well treated, and pay the land tax direct to the State. He trusted, for obedience, to the loyalty of his subjects in the Indies. He was disappointed; loyalty had no chance against self-interest. Don Antonio de Mendoza, the Viceroy of Mexico, did not enforce the New Laws. He explained that it would cause an insurrection. This excellent statesman was one of the very few really good men whom the home government selected. As a rule their choice fell on the most unfit man they could find in Spain. It would be difficult to choose a worse governor than Pedrarias. But the home government persisted; and Blasco Núñez Vela was even more unfit. This first viceroy of Peru was sent out to enforce the New Laws, and did his best to enforce them. But he was an incapable martinet without judgment, without tact, passionate, suspicious, listening to no representation; and he was at last guilty of a foul murder which gave rise to a formidable insurrection in which he lost his life.

Cieza de León gives an account of the appointment of Blasco Núñez Vela, and describes him in most flattering terms. He also relates how the New Laws were received in the Indies, and fully admits the cruelties perpetrated by the Spaniards on the natives. Indeed, he does not hesitate to notice and denounce those cruelties. But it must not be supposed that all the Spaniards who received grants

of Indians and their land tax were equally cruel. There were many noble and chivalrous knights among them, who deplored the existing state of things and treated their own dependents well. Lorenzo de Aldana, Garcilaso de la Vega, Mancio Serra de Sequidano did not stand alone in that respect; and, as a persistent advocate of the Indians, and a denouncer of the cruelties perpetrated on them, we must include our worthy author, Pedro de Cieza de León.

C. R. M.

NOTE.

There are certain terms which constantly recur in the text and require explanation, namely, *encomienda* and *encomendero*, *repartimiento*, and *Juez de Residencia*.

An *encomienda* was the grant of a district, with fixed boundaries, to a Spaniard, with power to appropriate the land tax (called *tribute*) of the Indians, or to exact personal services from them, or both. Pizarro made such grants when he formed the first settlement at San Miguel de Piura, soon after landing, in 1532.

An *encomendero* was the recipient of an *encomienda*. *Encomenderos* were expected to reside in the district granted to them.

Repartimiento was the apportionment of a conquered region or people among the conquerors as *encomenderos*. The word is often used as equivalent to *encomienda*.

A *Juez de Residencia* was a Judge or Commissioner sent by the Home Government to examine into the administration or conduct of a colonial Viceroy, Governor, Adelantado, or any other official, and submit a report.

Alcalde, Justice of the peace.

Regidor, Municipal councillor.

Alguacil, a Constable.

Cabildo, a Municipality, Municipal body, or even a Municipal building.

The name by which Cieza quotes the capital of Peru, except in one or two instances, is "*Los Reyes*" ("the Kings"), it having been founded at Epiphany. I have substituted the present name "Lima," as more convenient to the reader. The phrase *Los de Chile* (They of Chile) is constantly used in Cieza's text in reference to the members of the Almagro faction; it was the current expression for Don Diego's adherents at the time, because the leaders of his party were men who had served under the elder Almagro in the expedition to Chile which led up to his disaster.

There were two captains, men of very different type, with exactly the same name—Francisco de Chaves. This is confusing. One was a friend of Pizarro, but also a friend of the natives—a man of sound judgment and high honour. He was struck down by the assassins outside the door of Pizarro's *sala*, when remonstrating with them. The other, said to have been a cousin, was the worst of Almagro's captains, and a thoroughly bad character: to distinguish them I have called the first Francisco de Chaves (the good), and the second, Francisco de Chaves (the bad).

THE WAR OF CHUPAS

BY

CIEZA DE LEON

CHAPTER I

How the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro went to the province of Arequipa, to found a city there, and divided the natives among the persons who would remain there as citizens.

THE Governor, Don Francisco Pizarro, determined to go and found the city of *Arequipa*. The affairs of the town of *Plata* were in good order, the captain Pero Anzures having made arrangements for the maintenance of the settlers, and for the orderly service of the Indians. Having visited the province of Collao the Governor set out with the Spaniards who were in attendance on him. He travelled so well that he arrived at the district where the city was to be founded. Then messengers arrived with news that the Inca Manco wished to make peace. This was not true. The captain Gonzalo Pizarro having departed from Cuzco in search of the Inca, some events happened between them. Gonzalo occupied a rocky eminence, destroyed two bridges, and pursued the Inca so closely that he was on the point of falling into his hands. The Inca was so pressed that he sent messengers to the Governor. Don Francisco

Pizarro was anxious to bring the Inca into obedience to his Majesty, so he determined to return to Cuzco to secure that end. While he was on the journey from *Chuqui-apu*[1] to Arequipa, he reflected that the affairs of Quito were very important, that three or four cities were already founded there, while there were reports of provinces where as many more might be founded. So he resolved to send Gonzalo Pizarro there in accordance with a commission from his Majesty authorizing him to send one of his brothers as Governor of those parts if he should think it desirable. Having come to this decision the Marquis wrote to his brother with orders presently to set out for Quito. Gonzalo Pizarro, on receiving the command of the Marquis, set out for Quito with some followers, by the royal road. He intended to penetrate into the land of cinnamon, where great riches were reported.

As the Marquis had resolved to return to Cuzco, he directed the batchelor Garci Díaz Arias, who is now Bishop of Quito, to look out for the best site on which to found a city. He then, with a small company, set out for the valley of *Yucay*, when he sent messengers to the King Manco Inca Yupanqui, proposing that he should come and treat with him, as he was waiting for him in that valley.

Manco Inca received the news, and showed a desire for peace on his part. He, likewise, sent messengers to the Marquis that he should make peace and depart. The Marquis, believing in what the barbarian had no intention of doing, tried to increase his good will by sending him a very handsome pillow[2] and clothes of silk. When the Inca heard of this, he came out on the road, and in place of rewarding the two messengers, he killed them both and returned to Viticos. They were two Christian servants of the Marquis.

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[1] Now La Paz, in Bolivia.

[2] *Haca* or *Jaca* is a pony or hack, but the word seems to have been used also for what was put on a pony—a cushion or pillow.

The Inca placed no value on the friendship of the Spaniards nor on their promise. When the Marquis was informed of this, he was enraged to find that the barbarian would yield no obedience to the King, and that he was in such a position that submission could not be enforced. For this an expedition against the Inca was not then undertaken.

In this valley of *Yucay* the Marquis put the principal wife of the Inca to death. This was looked upon as a great cruelty. The Marquis had taken her prisoner, and some even say that he, or else Gonzalo Pizarro, had had more than friendship with her. They even say the same of Antonio Picado, the secretary. As the Inca would not make peace, the greatest insult that could be put upon him would be to kill the wife he loved most. So she was put to a cruel death. She was terrified and asked why they were going to kill her, when she had done nothing deserving of death. Finding herself in this extremity she distributed all her jewels among the principal women who were with her, without keeping any at all. Then she begged of them that, when she should be dead, they would put her remains in a basket and let it float down the Yucay river, that the current might take it to her husband the Inca. When he learnt this, great was his sorrow. This done, the Marquis returned to Cuzco.

Soon afterwards the news came that the batchelor Garci Díaz Arias and those who had remained with him had gone down towards the sea coast, seeking for a site on which to found the new city; but every place was difficult and with many defects. All came to the conclusion that Arequipa was the best place, and so they wrote to the Marquis. He approved; and he made a distribution, indicating those who were to become citizens, also naming the magistrates and municipal officers. He gave the appointment of Lieutenant Governor to Garci Manuel de Caravajal, a native of Truxillo. After the Marquis had made this distribution,

provisionally until the general distribution could be made at Lima in concert with the Bishop, he sent orders to Pedro Anzures at Plata, to take great care about the conversion of the Indians, and to explore the mines which were reported to exist near that town. He then set out for the city of *San Juan de la Vitoria*,[1] where the inhabitants welcomed his arrival with much content, and he stayed with them for some days. After he had made arrangements conducive to good government there, he proceeded to Lima, where the citizens came out to receive him, and he was very honourably welcomed by all.

At this time fresh despatches arrived for the Marquis from his Majesty and from several Grandees of Spain. Their date was previous to the arrival of news of the death of the Adelantado. Among them there was a commission, with the seal, in which his Majesty, being informed of the holy life of Garcí Díaz Arias, appointed him Bishop-elect of Quito. All were rejoiced, for he was much beloved, and they made great festivities in the city in his honour.

CHAPTER II

How the General Lorenzo de Aldana determined to send an expedition to settle in Anzerma, a place discovered by the captain Belalcazar, and how he chose Jorge Robledo to be captain of this new settlement.

THERE was such order in the government of the cities that, although Aldana had been but a short time in charge,[2] it seemed quite a different state of affairs from what had preceded it. Being in the city of *Cali*, Pedro de Añasco went as captain and lieutenant-governor at Timaná. Aldana charged him to treat the Indians fairly,

[1] Guamanga.

[2] Aldana had been sent by Pizarro as governor of Quito, Popayan, and Cali, in the absence of Belalcazar, who had gone to Spain.

and not to allow the Spaniards shamelessly to rob, or seize their lands, and to punish any one so offending with the utmost rigour. He wrote to Juan de Ampudia at Popayán to the same effect. After he had attended to these affairs, seeing that there were still many men left in Cali, including veterans well versed in the service of conquest, he resolved to form a settlement in the provinces of *Anzerma*, which lie further west than the city of Cali, and border on the very rich and forceful river of Santa Marta. They had been discovered by the captain Sebastian de Belalcázar. And although Aldana understood that much profit might result from such an expedition to any captain who should undertake it, he cast avarice aside; for he cared more about the good government of the territory entrusted to him, and considered very carefully what captain he should send on this enterprise. Though, among those who came from Cartagena, were Melchor Suer de Nava, Alonso de Montemayor, the *Comendador* Hernán Rodríguez de Sosa, and other men of ability who might have performed the service, Aldana did not see fit to give it to any of these who had recently come from another government, and had not fought under any banner in Peru. Among those present in the city of Cali there were few who complied with that condition. He finally selected Jorge Robledo. Certainly he did not err, for Robledo was such a man as would serve the King well, and might well be employed on such a service.

I have seen the power which Aldana received from the Marquis for making this appointment, and though some asserted that it was frivolous and without proper authority, they deceive themselves. It was approved in Spain; and in Panamá Dr. Villalobos, a Judge who was there at the time, told me that Aldana had a full right to appoint Robledo. The document of the Marquis states: "That as he had been informed that there were some provinces discovered but yet to be settled, if Aldana were occupied in

the government and reformation of the cities, he might nominate such a person as should seem good to him, to go in his place to make a settlement, and that he himself gave requisite powers to the person so appointed." As Aldana held this commission he determined to send Jorge Robledo. First he made a *repartimiento* of the Indians subject to the city of Cali, among fewer citizens than were then at Cali. The rest, and those of us among the men who had come from Cartagena with Vadillo who most desired to go, enlisted with Robledo: all being well contented. Lorenzo de Aldana ordered that the new city that was to be founded, should be called the city of "St. Anne of the Knights."[1] He appointed Melchor Suer de Nava and Martin de Amoroto as *Alcaldes*, and Ruy Vanegas as *Alguacil Mayor*. Having made these appointments, and given the captain Robledo his orders, he instructed them to leave Cali, taking as few native servants as possible, and he dismissed many of those they had engaged. He himself went with them as far as a village called *Meacanoa*, seven leagues from Cali, and then returned. The captain Jorge Robledo continued his journey, having started on the 8th of July 1549.[2] In this expedition I served. After he had arranged these matters, Aldana departed for the city of Popayán, leaving Miguel Muñoz as Governor's lieutenant at Cali, and having given the citizens lists of the Indians they held in *repartimiento*. When he arrived at Popayán he did the same as at Cali, where, having left Juan de Ampudia as Governor's lieutenant, he set out for Quito.

At this time Gonzalo Díaz de Pineda obtained a commission from the Marquis Pizarro to found a town in *Pasto*, but it was not to derogate from the powers of Aldana; only that if the latter were absent Pineda might act. When at Quito Pineda heard that Aldana was coming, he set out

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[1] Santa Ana de los Caballeros. [2] 1539?

with some Spaniards to found the town; but Aldana had already arrived at the valley of *Guapuanquer* where he then founded *Villa Viciosa de Pasto*, afterwards moved to the valley of *Atris*, where it now is. At the time of the founding an act was ordered to be recorded, which said that "Lorenzo de Aldana desired to consider Gonzalo Díaz de Pineda as his colleague in that foundation." Although this is so, in my first book I did not mention any founder but Lorenzo de Aldana, for it is clear that he alone had the necessary power for the affair of those cities. As for saying so of Gonzalo Díaz enough has been written.

When Aldana had founded Villa Viciosa de Pasto he left as Governor's lieutenant one Rodrigo de Ocampo, a man who well understood a war with Indians, and he divided the Chiefs and villages among the settlers who were to remain there. We have written all that relates to the foundation and site of that town and customs of the natives, in the *Book of Foundations*. After he had seen to the good order of this town, Aldana proceeded to the city of Quito, where he remained until Gonzalo Pizarro arrived; and at present we have nothing more to say about Aldana.

CHAPTER III

How his Majesty nominated Don Pascual de Andagoya to be Governor and Adelantado of the river of San Juan; and how Robledo proceeded to establish the town of Anzerma.

THE Licentiate Gaspar de Espinosa, he whom we mentioned, some way back,[1] as having died in the city of Cuzco, was a citizen of Panamá in Tierra Firme. He received great accounts of the valley of *Baeza* and the river of *San Juan*, so he sent to his Majesty to petition for the

[1] In the volume on the *War of Las Salinas*.

government of that territory; but just when a grant of the government was sent to him he died. It was then granted to Don Pascual de Andagoya, with the condition that he was not to trench on any part that had been discovered or settled by the Marquis Pizarro, or any of his captains. After Andagoya's business was settled at Court he went to Seville and embarked, landing afterwards at Nombre de Dios, and going thence to Panamá. Although he there got news that the captain Belalcazar, with the title of the Marquis's Captain-general, had marked off and settled three or four cities, not on that account did he cease to covet, and soon he began to collect men and fit out ships for the voyage. Some people urged him to devote himself to the exploration and settlement of the territory that was granted to him and leave the rest, for to do otherwise would be an error. His Majesty would not deprive the Marquis of what was within his government. Taking little heed of this advice Andagoya pushed forward his preparations for departing from the city of Panamá.[1]

Returning to the proceedings of Robledo. After leaving Meacanoa he made all possible haste to arrive at the region which was his destination. He made Ruy Vanegas his ensign, and, as in the valley below there flowed the great river of Santa Marta, the baggage was got across on a raft, and in a very large canoe. They marched on until they came to a village which was named *Pescado*, situated on the banks of that river. Nothing had happened worthy of record, except that a Portuguese named Roque Martín killed a negress he cohabited with, by stabbing her. He fled from justice to Timaná, but was killed by the Indians and eaten. It was a judgment of God, which was clearly seen in

[1] Andagoya had heard of the disasters in the Popayán province, described further on. He was right to go to the rescue, but not to assume the government. The boundaries of his own province of San Juan were not fixed.

this punishment, for this Roque Martín, without fear of God, had fed his dogs upon Indians' limbs, which dogs were used by him to hunt down native men and women. At last, albeit his delight was to kill so many Indians, yet his end was to die at their hands, and to find a tomb in their bellies.

From this village Robledo continued his march. His followers numbered a hundred Spaniards, horse and foot. He went on until he came to the borders of the province. The natives, having had notice of the approach of the invaders, had hidden their supplies, and had concealed themselves in ravines, and in the most secret places of their land. The captain, after having sent up the baggage from the river to the heights where they were, and having got all the Spaniards together, ordered the swiftest among them to make ready, and then sent them out to search for the natives. Although the latter were well concealed the runners took more than 200 persons. The captain spoke very kindly to them, through the interpreters he had brought with him. These were three Indian women named Barbola, Antona, and Catalina. As the captain knew that I was curious to learn the secrets of the Indians he gave Catalina to me, that I might more easily acquire the knowledge I sought. He told the Indians that they should render obedience to the King and be friends with the Christians, and that it was desirable there should be conferences on the subject. In order that they might understand that faith would be kept with them, he ordered them all to be set free, telling them to ask their Chiefs to come and confer with him.

When the people throughout the province understood that the Spaniards had set their prisoners free, and that they had come to form a new settlement, several Chiefs and principal men came and were well received by the captain, who began to treat with them, hoping that it would please God to bring all the natives of the province to an attitude

of peace. From these Indians it was ascertained that Spaniards like themselves were coming from the Ocean Sea, that they had many horses, and were capturing and killing the Indians. Robledo, on hearing this, consulted with his principal officers, and it was decided to seek out a site and found a city; for, peradventure, it might not be people of Cartagena who were coming, and it would be well to anticipate them, and be first to form a settlement. So the captain Ruy Vanegas, with twenty Spaniards, horse and foot, set out to find a site, followed by Robledo and the rest. Before we go on any farther, it will be well to relate what people those were who were coming.

CHAPTER IV

How the Licentiate Santa Cruz sent captains and troops in pursuit of Vadillo, of the differences there were between them, and how they joined Robledo.

I SHOULD be well pleased if I could continue my writing without digressions, for it is quite long enough without treating of other histories, yet I am obliged to do so that my narrative may be understood. For I want, above all, to satisfy my readers. Therefore, with the brevity which is my wont, I will relate the events that we are following up. The reader is sure to remember that, in an earlier part of my history I mentioned how, when Don Pedro de Heredia was Governor of Cartagena, the Licentiate Juan de Vadillo came to hold a *residencia*. After several things had happened, an account of which I omit for reasons already given, he set out with followers in the way I have described in the part where I treated of him.[1] As Heredia remonstrated, his Majesty appointed as Judge the Licent-

[1] The author was with Vadillo in his march.

iate Santa Cruz, who governed the province of Cartagena well, and founded there the city of *Mompox*. As Vadillo would not submit, the Judge ordered troops to be got ready, and sent Juan Greciano as his lieutenant in charge of them, with powers to administer justice to the men Vadillo had raised, and orders to send them back to Cartagena. But now, when the troops were about to start, Judge Santa Cruz made a great mistake. This was to appoint one Luis Bernal as captain to carry on a war with the Indians wherever he might pass. Thus with one holding a commission as lieutenant and the other as captain, the expedition left Cartagena. Having arrived at the port of Urabá early in the year 1538, they began the march, and from the first few days parties were formed, each captain wanting to be superior to the others, while the soldiers joined those who had most to offer, so that although the men were few, the confusion was great, and as suspicions increased, the quarrels became worse. I am not astonished at this for whether in an army, or a company, or in the smallest province or the widest kingdom, if there are two heads it is impossible that there can be good government. And thus, too, said Alexander, when Darius sought for peace by offering a part of his dominions, that the world could not be governed by two heads, and that only one could hold the empire.

Marching in the way I have described, the expedition from Cartagena arrived at the mountains of Abibe, and, as the road had been opened by us when we came with Vadillo, they crossed the range without much difficulty. In this forest some young men killed a snake or serpent, which was so big that it had an entire deer with its horns in its inside. In what way can the creature have swallowed it! The Spaniards, and their quarrels, travelled with all possible haste, and after having gone through great hardships, and suffered much from hunger, they arrived at the borders of the province of Anzerma. As they found plenty

of provisions they remained there for several days. The quarrels among them came to such a pitch that Juan Greciano, in the name of the King, wanted to arrest Luis Bernal, and Luis Bernal, in the same royal name, wanted to arrest Greciano. Some of their followers joined one side, and some the other, all taking up arms. At the time that this happened the captain Ruy Vanegas arrived at a hill called *Umbra*, on which a town was afterwards founded, and being very near the other party of Spaniards, they could see each other. This was why those from Cartagena did not come to blows, which evil would have been inevitable until one or other of the leaders was killed. When the two parties of Spaniards saw each other their delight was great.

Ruy Vanegas sent the news to the captain Jorge Robledo who, at a village called *Garma*, had founded the city of *Santa Ana de los Caballeros*, now called the town of Anzerma. Thither went the Spaniards from Cartagena and gave their obedience to Robledo. The lieutenant Juan Greciano, complained of the conduct of Luis Bernal and the others, who were banished. Robledo sent messengers to Lorenzo de Aldana with an account of all that had happened; and Aldana wrote a very full report to the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro. As the site for the town presented some difficulties, the new town was removed to the hill called Umbra where it now stands.

CHAPTER V

How the captain Jorge Robledo induced the Chiefs in the neighbourhood of the new city to remain at peace, and how he sent Suer de Nava to Caramanta.

AFTER the usual proceedings at the founding of new cities, steps were taken to build some houses and sow seeds, and the captain sent messengers to all parts of the

province to invite the Chiefs to come to him. Among the Chiefs there were two principal ones named *Umbruza* and *Ocuzca*. Later on, one Gómez Fernández, being lieutenant to Belalcazar in this province, was so cruel as to burn these two Chiefs for some very slight cause, and he did the same to other Chiefs and Indians, without any mercy. Some Chiefs came to see Robledo, who showed skill in bringing them to adopt a peaceful attitude, and to serve the Emperor. He was desirous of becoming acquainted with the people who might be serviceable for the new city. So he sent Captain Suer de Nava with fifty Spaniards, horse and foot, to the province of *Caramanta* to see what villages of Indians there were in that direction. Suer de Nava departed, while Robledo himself started off from *Ocuzca's* village, whither, at the end of a few days, he came back, bringing with him, in friendly fashion, over two thousand Indians and many women.

The captain ordered the Spaniards to be prepared, so that they might not be found unready in case the Indians should think of committing any treason. At this time the chief Ocuzca came from the wilds and arrived where the captain was, who received him very well, and let his coming be known, returning to the city with him, but keeping him as it were under guard, so that he might not escape. The Chief was grieved at being kept a prisoner, and one day when some soldiers were on watch, he saw that they fell asleep. So he departed, and his flight caused great excitement. We went out in search in every direction, but could not find any traces to show which way he had gone. At this time the captain Suer de Nava, who had been at Caramanta, crossed the range and reached some valleys, where he saw the villages of *Metia*, *Palala*, and others; and having given the Indians to understand what they should do, he returned to report to the captain. Robledo then resolved to visit the province, leaving Martín de Amoroto

to guard the new city. For all the rest of the Chiefs had submitted, though at first there had been some punishments, such as cutting off the hands and noses of Indians who were brought in to him from the vicinity.

Being in the village of Garma the captain Ruy Vanegas went in search of the Chiefs of that place, and came upon a prayer house or sanctuary that they had constructed as a hiding place. In it were found many very pretty women, great quantities of coloured cloth and more than 12,000 *pesos* in gold, which the Christians seized. To pacify the province the captain ordered most of it to be returned to the Indians. Ocuzca, the Chief who had escaped, seeing that the captain was absent, gathered together all the principal Chiefs of his lineage, and with a large force which they assembled, marched to destroy the new city of Anzerma. Amoroto, who had been left to guard it, made great preparations for defence, for an Indian girl belonging to me, a native of those villages, told me, in great secrecy, about the movements of the barbarians, and that they were about to attack the city. I at once reported this to the *Alcalde*, and we were all under arms, night and day, waiting for the enemy. But the Indians, either not daring or for some other reason, after having given us some bad nights, dispersed and returned to their homes.

CHAPTER VI

How the captain Jorge Robledo sent Gómez Hernández to explore the province of The Choco, and also how Ruy Vanegas went to the village of Pirsa.

AFTER the captain Jorge Robledo had ordered the spoils that were taken in the house I mentioned to be restored to the Indians, and established a peace with the Chiefs of the valley of *Apia*, which was the largest and most populous of the districts subject to the city that had

been founded, he received news that Ocuzca and Umbruza, with other Chiefs, had sworn to destroy the new city and kill all the Spaniards. So he decided to proceed to *Santa Ana de los Caballeros*, for so the city was named, as we stated when we recorded its foundation. He arrived there after a few days, and despatched messengers in all directions urging the native Chiefs not to be mad, nor to act without considering the consequences, but to render obedience to his Majesty and be friendly to the Spaniards, and in such event he would secure to them their lives and possessions, and would see that they were not ill treated. Some of them thought it best to comply, and came, bringing materials for building the houses of the Spaniards. Robledo now wanted to divide the villages among the Spaniards who had come with him. He had news that, beyond the cordillera of *Cima*, which lies to the north of Anzerma, there was a thickly peopled region and much wealth. So, to ascertain the truth, he resolved to send and explore. He ordered Gómez Hernández to set out with fifty Spaniards, crossbow men and shield bearers, and explore this region of *El Choco*. When they were ready the captain Robledo went with them as far as the valley of Santa María. Here an Indian came in friendly guise, alleging that he was the Chief, Umbruza. As he was known not to be that Chief he was ordered to be burnt, which was an excessively cruel punishment.

Gómez Hernández left this valley with the Spaniards, but took no horses with him because of the rugged character of the country, and proceeded until he reached the forest of *Cima*, which is very wild, with a dense growth of trees, and where it rains during the greater part of the year. It contains many noxious animals and night birds. The monkeys are numerous, and the natives go naked and are very savage. The Indians have their houses very strongly built in trees, and they make war upon each other owing to

the scarcity of food. The Spaniards with their cross-bows came to one of those *barbacoas*, or fortified places, and one of them named Alonso Pérez caught an Indian girl. She was so overcome with grief and abhorrence at finding herself a prisoner to a Christian, that she threw herself down a precipice and was dashed to pieces, her soul going to hell. Gómez Hernández advanced for some days through these forests, than which there are none more rugged and impassable in the world, until he came to a river which flowed into the Ocean Sea and which, according to the most general opinion, must be the river of Darien.[1] They found some edible palms, and on them that singular fruit called *pixibays*, which they liked. There also were many turkeys and pheasants,[2] and many tapirs which are the size of a mule, and would seem to be like those they call zebras. Proceeding with his discoveries, Gómez Hernández advanced until he arrived at the crest of a rise whence they saw that the country everywhere appeared level and much less mountainous. No open plain was visible, but undulating country with many and much larger *barbacoas* or fortified houses than had been found in Cima. When the natives perceived the Christians they sounded many drums and flutes, making a great noise and preparing to come out and give battle.

These Indians also go naked but they are well disposed, their women beautiful, and they all have gold. It is believed that there are great riches in these regions, but until now they are unexplored. Gómez Hernández, and all his followers, being unmounted, were in some danger of falling into the hands of the Indians who, seeing that they had come without horses, which are what they so greatly fear, held the intruders cheap, and rose up in arms to oppose an entrance into their country. The Spaniards had reached

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[1] The Atrato.

[2] Curassows.

one of those strongholds, and in it they found plenty of food, and wanted to take some of it. But the Indians came against them, thinking to lay hold of them. When the Spaniards saw their approach, they commended themselves to God, and prepared for battle. Then came a great disaster, which was that the cords of several cross-bows were broken. The Indians shot off arrows and darts and the battle was joined. The Spaniards fought well, though some did better than others, and many were wounded by the Indians. The affair reached such a point that the Indians, after having mortally wounded a Frenchman who was there, seized Antonio Pimentel, a veteran in these Indies, who was near, gave a tremendous shout, and transfixed his body with a dart. This Pimentel, and another named Vera, were saved miraculously. For being desperately wounded they commended themselves to our Lady and, though many Indians passed by, it was her pleasure that they should not be perceived by them, and so, strengthened by her aid, they were able to rejoin their comrades. The Spaniards, being without horses, seeing the number of Indians increasing, and most of themselves wounded, thought it best to retreat with their faces to the foe. They were followed for a whole day when the Indians, satisfied at having driven the enemy out of their country and wounded most of them, returned. The Indians had captured the wounded Frenchman, and put him to a most horrible death by cruel tortures. The Spaniards made speed to return to Anzerma, and report to the captain what had happened. Robledo then ordered Ruy Vanegas to proceed to the village of Pirso and try to arrange for terms of peace with the Chiefs.

Ruy Vanegas set out with those that were necessary, and with horses, and I went with him. When we arrived at the place we found the natives in arms. They had deep holes dug in the approaches, and in them were many spikes.

These holes were covered over with grass, so that the horses and Christians might fall into them. As we entered the village the Indians fled into the ravines and among the rocks behind the village. Because a horse fell into one of the holes and was killed on the stakes, the Spaniards threw into two of them over fifty Indian men and women, to teach them not to try another deceit like that, as it would be to their own hurt in the end. After having been some days in this district, Ruy Vanegas had sent messages to the Chiefs to come as friends, and we went on to the province of *Sopia*. Here, though the barbarians were proud, yet, knowing the power of the Spaniards, they came in peaceably and gave obedience to his Majesty, which they have observed ever since. After Ruy Vanegas had settled those provinces he returned to Anzerma, and reported to the captain what he had done.

CHAPTER VII

How the captain Jorge Robledo assigned the Chiefs among the settlers who had to remain in the city of Santa Ana, and how he departed and discovered another part of the great river of Santa Marta.

THE events we have related having passed, the captain Jorge Robledo desired to cross the great river Santa Marta, and explore the regions on the other side. He first divided the native Chiefs among those who had to remain as settlers; and then, having assigned them, he left the captain Ruy Vanegas in his place, and departed from Anzerma early in the year 1540, taking with him as his ensign Suer de Nava, a native of Toro. We set out, a little over a hundred Spaniards, horse and foot. The *Comendador* Hernán Rodríguez de Sosa was camp-master. We arrived at the village of *Irra*, which is on the banks of the river of Santa Marta, where the current flows with great velocity. The natives made rafts on which the horses and baggage crossed. The Spaniards made contrivances for crossing

consisting of two bamboos as thick as a leg, to the head of which a pole was fastened. One man went in front with a reed, hauling on the bamboos, and two others behind to guide them. Thus, with great risk and much hard work the Spaniards crossed this great river. I certainly believe that if the Romans had undertaken the conquest of these parts, even at the time of the most flourishing period of their empire, when they ruled the world, they would not have been powerful enough to do what a few Spaniards have achieved. As for the hardships and hunger they have faced, no other nation in the world could have endured it. For they are worthy to be counted as scions of the most excellent nation in the world and the one which is foremost in all things.

Having crossed to the other side of the river we went to sleep on the rising ground, whence the captain sent messengers to *Carrapa*, which is a large and rich province with abundant supplies of provisions, to persuade the inhabitants to receive him as their friend and to yield obedience to his Majesty. As the fame of the Spaniards' valour, their great power, and the endurance of their horses had reached all these districts, the natives agreed, in order to escape being wounded by swords or torn to pieces by dogs, to admit them to their territory and supply them with provisions; and this they sent to say. Next day we entered Carrapa. The Chiefs came to see the captain, and presented many golden ornaments, and vases, among them a salver which weighed over 2,000 *pesos*. We were there more than a month. The Indians said that after crossing the cordillera of the Andes there was a very populous plain country where there were great and very rich Chiefs, and that that country was called ARBI. They also said that near it were the provinces of PICARA, PAUCURA, and POZO, all great and powerful, and hostile to each other. At that time those of Carrapa were at enmity with Picara. After

we had stayed for the time mentioned the captain asked for guides to advance further, also that some principal natives should come with the number of men he might want, to make war on those who refused to be friendly. The people of Carrapa were content, and gave 600 Indians to carry the baggage on their shoulders and 4,000 armed men to help in the war. Thus we left Carrapa and went to the province of Picara, which is larger and more populous. When tidings came of our approach, the natives of Picara armed themselves for war, but after they had made a tremendous noise, they grounded their arms and fled. Those of Carrapa pursued them, and killed many in the ravines. Others they made prisoners, and ate them all without sparing any. Such is the cruelty and savagery of these people!

Our camp was formed on a plain. The captain Robledo, the first discoverer of these regions, sent messengers to all the villages of that province to warn the natives that they must come in and render obedience to his Majesty, for that otherwise he would wage war with ruthless cruelty. Most of them, fearing their cruel enemies of Carrapa, determined to come and offer peace to the Spaniards. During the few days that we were encamped on that plain, the principal Chiefs, named *Picara*, *Chanvericua*, *Chuscuruca*, and *Ancora*, came to our camp. When the *repartimiento* was made, this last one was given to me in *encomienda*, with other principal men, I being a *conquistador* of these parts. These Chiefs brought many gold ornaments, rich and of much value, which they gave to the captain, who took possession for his Majesty, and for the royal crown of Castille. Having made some agreement convenient for them and for us, the captain ordered the men of Carrapa not to kill any more people, nor to do any more harm than they had done already. After having been in this province twenty-five days, we set out for *Pozo*, which is situated among some breaks in a mountain range, the Chiefs having their houses

and compounds on the slopes higher up. At the approaches there are fortifications of stout bamboos, and above these are *barbacoas* or platforms for making their sacrifices upon, and for use as watch towers.

These Indians are the boldest and most valiant in all the Indies of Peru. None of them are ever in their plantations, sowing or gathering the produce, without having their arms ready at hand. They were feared by all their neighbours and they would not keep at peace with any one. Both men and women go naked. They have much gold. Their territory extends to the river of Santa Marta. They came originally from among the people of Arma. Their weapons are lances, darts, and slings; but of this I treat more fully in my *Book of Foundations*. They had news of our entrance into Picara, and of what we had done in Carrapa, but they trusted in the strength of their fortified places, and held the Spaniards of little account. Having made great sacrifices and prayers to their gods, and having spoken with the devil in accordance with their customs, more than 6,000 of them assembled, with their arms, on the summit of their mountains, to defend the pass. We set out from Picara, as I have said, with more than 5,000 Indians of that province, led by their principal Chiefs, all eager to attack the province of Pozo and kill its inhabitants.

CHAPTER VIII

How the captain Jorge Robledo arrived in the province of Pozo, where he was severely wounded, and of the most cruel punishment that was inflicted, also of the great quantity of human flesh that was there eaten.

TO go from the province of Picara to that of Pozo one follows a river, down stream. It is fringed on either side by woody groves and fruit-bearing trees, and 'tis certain that, if the Inca kings should extend their conquests

so far, and the opposing parties should not eat each other up, they would find here the best and richest thing in all the Indies, the rivers and mountains being so prolific in gold, as those who have visited it will tell. We were going along, careless of the fact that we were at war, advancing without order, and rejoicing to see that there was such a good land to explore. The captain was in front, and with him were Alvaro de Mendoza, Antonio Pimentel, the ensign Suer de Nava, Giraldo Gil Estopiñan, Francisco de Cuéllar, trumpeter, and a cleric named Father Francisco de Frias, besides some other mounted esquires, and gentlemen on foot. Suddenly the war cries of the barbarians were heard. In great haste orders were given to call up the *Comendador* Hernán Rodríguez de Sosa who, as squadron commander or camp-master, came in the rear guard with the men on horseback. He hurried up to the front, and so did Pedro de Velasco and I, and others, all being without a thought that the Indians would be so eager to fight. The captain, with his ensign Suer de Nava, climbed up the mountain side with great intrepidity, as did the other Spaniards: while the barbarians made a tremendous noise, and called us *umes*, which means women, also making use of other more insulting expressions.

The Indians of Carrapa and Picara, although they numbered over 8,000, were so afraid of the Pozos that they hardly dared open their mouths. At this juncture we came to a very difficult mountain pass. The captain, with much boldness and with the heart of a hero, put spurs to his horse and, in spite of the foe, nearly reached the summit: the Spaniards following and invoking the apostle Santiago. They then began to wound the Indians, and these shot off many darts and arrows. The captain gave his shield to the trumpeter, because he saw that the man had none, and taking a cross-bow, he killed three or four Indians; then, dropping it, he took a lance and prepared to attack them,

having first, before all this, called upon them, in presence of the notary Pedro Sarmiento, to submit. When the Indians saw the execution the captain had done amongst them, one of them pointed a dart which hit him on the right hand, and passed right through it. While stooping down to recover his lance the Indians shot off another dart, which hit him in the back, and entered more than a *palmo*. The Spaniards then pressed onwards, to put the Indians to flight, and gained the heights. The captain lay on the ground, much afflicted by his wounds, so that we all thought he was dead. Indeed, as for his living, it would have been better for him had he died there and then, for at least his body would not have lacked a tomb, nor would it have become food for Indians, as happened later, owing to the savagery of those who did kill him.[1] None of the Spaniards were either killed or wounded here except the captain.

The friendly Indians killed some of the enemy, whom they ate that same night. We occupied the native buildings which were on the hill. They were large, and there were a great number of wooden images in them, of the size of men, but in place of heads they had skulls with faces of wax. They served us for firewood. The captain was so ill that we really thought he would die, and all showed deep sorrow, for, in those times, Robledo was so much liked for his goodness to us, that we looked upon him as a father. At night the ensign, Melchor Suer de Nava, the Father Francisco de Frias, a native of Castro Nuño, Alonzo de Mendoza, Antonio Pimentel, Pedro de Velasco, Estopiñan and others of the officers who were there, slept close to him without leaving the house where he was. Such

[1] He was hanged by Belalcázar on the pretence that he had usurped that governor's territory, and his body was eaten by the Pozos. For this murder Belalcázar was condemned to death by the *Juez de residencia*. Belalcázar appealed, and was on his way to Spain when he died at Cartagena.

hatred was felt for the Indians of Pozo who had done this deed, that the *Comendador* Hernán Rodríguez de Sosa, with seventy Spaniards and about 4,000 friendly Indians, set out in search of the enemy (who were said to have taken up a strong position on a rock placed on the summit of some crags) intending to kill as many of them as possible. The Indians of Carrapa and Picara were delighted on finding their dreaded enemies in such straits, and that the valiant Spaniards were so bent on killing them. They all brought stout cords to secure the prisoners. The *Comendador* went out with the Spaniards to do what I have said: and it pleased God that the captain should recover from his wounds, which gave no small pleasure to us all.

CHAPTER IX

How the Comendador Hernán Rodríguez de Sosa came to the rock, and of the number of people he captured and killed, and of the great cruelty perpetrated on those natives.

IT is my well-used custom to praise the good deeds of the captains and people of my nation, but also not to pardon their evil deeds. How much affection soever I may feel for some of them, it may be believed that I shall not fail to blame their errors. I saw this conquest and war and was present at it, and I shared in the love which all felt for Robledo: the more so because I used to go to his house at that time. And I speak the purest truth, though many things also happened which I do not mention, because I am so tired and bored with treating of the provinces to the westward. Although, as I say, I care so much for the honour of Robledo, I shall not hesitate to affirm that there was committed, in this province of Pozo, one of the greatest acts of cruelty that have been perpetrated in these Indies. This was that, because the unlucky natives wounded Robledo, the Spaniards felt such hatred towards them that

those who went to inflict punishment resolved to kill them all.

At the time when they were defeated on the first hill, their principal Chief, much disturbed at such a calamity, retreated to the banks of the great river, with his women and principal followers, while others of his captains went to form a garrison on the summit of a very inaccessible rock, which rose from the crest of one of the hills. Here a thousand persons were collected, men and women with many children, boys and girls, and a supply of provisions. The Christians, who came with the *Comendador*, sent the news of how they had beleaguered those people in their fort, and they marched towards it. When they were near, those of Pozo wished to defend themselves, but they were astonished and dismayed at so many coming against them. Our friendly Indians, from below, encircled the rock, and the Christians farther up sent forward the dogs, which were so fierce that in two bites with their cruel teeth they laid open their victims to the entrails. It was no small grief to see that, for taking up arms to defend their country against those who came to deprive them of it, they were treated in that manner. The little children, terrified at the noise and confusion, running hither and thither, were torn to pieces by the dogs, a horrible sight to witness. The cross-bows also made holes through their bodies, through which their souls could depart, while they groaned and cried for help to their parents and their gods; or in fleeing from the Spaniards they threw themselves over the cliffs. Those fugitives who escaped from these perils fell into a worse danger, namely, into the power of the Indians of Carrapa and Picara, who treated them with even greater cruelty. For they spared none, neither ugly nor beautiful women, neither old nor young, killing all. They took the children by their feet, and dashed their heads against the rocks, and promptly, like dragons, ate them raw. They killed most

of the men they took, and the rest, with hands securely tied, they carried off. Baltasa de Ledesma and the *Comendador* acted here in such a manner that one must believe it was for this crime that they were killed in course of time at this same place, when they and the captain were eaten by these very Indians.

After this no people remained on the rock. More than three hundred of those who had been there were killed. The *Comendador*, with the other "Christians," returned to the camp. Our native friends made more than 200 loads of human flesh, and with it and their prisoners they also returned to their camp, eating the lungs and hearts raw, as they went, and entrails too. When they arrived at the buildings they sent to their villages large presents of this flesh, as well as many of the Indians they had kept alive. Those who remained were forced to bend their heads and were killed by blows on the occiput with cudgels. And the only reproach they got from us was to be laughed at and asked whether that food tasted good to them. I saw that they brought more than twenty pots as big as our large earthen jars, and filled them all with this human flesh, which they devoured among them, sending the heads to their villages. A time came, when God permitting, the Pozos did more damage than this to their enemies, as we shall relate farther on.

When the news of the great injury the Christians had done spread to all parts of the province of Pozo, the people were astounded and afraid, and, that there might not be such a sad day again, the Chiefs determined to send to the captain and ask for peace. This was done. They came to the camp with presents of gold ornaments, and were well received by the captain, who promised them peace, provided the principal Chiefs came in, and rendered obedience to his Majesty. After some negotiation they did so, and after begging pardon for having taken up arms

they asked the captain that no more harm might be done to them. The captain agreed, the Indians of Carrapa and Picara returning to their own countries. When the captain's wounds were healed, he arranged to depart from Pozo, and they brought him many Indians to carry the baggage of the Spaniards. And so, leaving all in peace, we departed from Pozo.

CHAPTER X

How the captain Robledo discovered the province of Paucura, how the ensign Suer de Nava returned to Pozo, and how he perpetrated other cruelties worse than the former ones, and how Robledo left Paucura to explore the great and very rich province of ARMA.

WHAT I have related in the last chapter having taken place, and the captain having recovered from his wounds, we departed for the province of Paucura, where the principal Chief was one named *Pimaná*, who was also an enemy of the people of Pozo, but allied by lineage, speech, and customs to those of Picara, a populous and very fertile province. As they had heard what the Christians had done in Pozo, and were friends of Pimaná's relations in Picara, they agreed to submit peaceably and to bring in plenty of provisions, and so it was done. We arrived at Paucura in the afternoon of a Wednesday, and they showed much joy at our coming. So we lodged there as friends. When all our force had arrived, a soldier named Miranda said that certain pigs, which had gone amissing from the men who were bringing them, had been stolen by the Indians of Pozo. It was no great crime, nor ought it to have been punished with the cruelty which we must now describe. When Robledo was told of the loss of the pigs he was very angry, saying that the Pozo Indians had not kept the peace to which they had agreed, and that he would punish them for being false friends. He then

ordered his ensign to go with fifty Spaniards, horse and foot, to Pozo and punish the theft of the pigs. When the people of Paucura heard of the return of the Spaniards to Pozo they rejoiced at the good opportunity of doing all the injury they could to the people of Pozo, who were their enemies, so when Suer de Nava left the camp he was joined by over 3,000 Paucuraños. All united marched rapidly and, arriving in Pozo, they began to do great harm to the unfortunate people, burning their houses, ruining their villages, and robbing what they contained. That the sin might be greater, more than two hundred souls were murdered by the Paucuraños, who cut the bodies in pieces as if they had been saddles of mutton or legs of beef, and carried them off to their homes. It was surely a strange thing to see rational beings so very fond of human flesh, so that to obtain it there was no peace between fathers and their sons and brothers. As soon as Suer de Nava had recovered the pigs, and settled some terms of peace with the Pozo people, he returned to the province of Paucura where the captain had remained.

Robledo had received tidings that at no great distance to the westward [*sic*] was situated the great and very rich province of ARMA, which is the largest and most populous in all Peru, and where, if the natives could be domesticated, such a supply of gold might be obtained that the Spaniards settling there would become the richest in all those parts. Desirous of exploring these regions in order to form a new settlement, Robledo made his preparations and left Paucura accompanied by some of the Chiefs and many Indians; and we went on until we reached the crests of some mountains.

By this time the arrival of the Spaniards was known in all the villages of that great province. Our deeds were exaggerated. It was said that with one blow of a sword we could cut open an Indian, and with one thrust of a lance we could run him through, but what terrified them most was

to hear the way a bolt was shot from a cross-bow, and the furious velocity with which it flew; while they also wondered at the speed of the horses. Finally they had debated among themselves as to whether they should keep the peace with us or come out to make war on us, and they had consulted their devils in regard to this. One may believe that the reply and counsel savoured of the oracle who gave them, and all watched for the part where the Spaniards would approach, to decide on what they would do. We set out from where, as I have said, we passed the previous night, and marched to the borders of the province. When we came in sight of a summit we heard a great noise, many drums beating and horns being blown. It was so in truth, for when the natives saw us coming that way they concealed their property and their women and children, and of one accord came out in warlike array to face us. When the captain heard the noise, he ordered all his men to form in order with their arms, and march to the summit. This was done. The shouts of the natives increased, while we advanced in leisurely fashion towards them. And although they tried to dismay us with their clamour, and by means of huge stones sent rolling down the hill, it availed them nought, because the daring of the Spaniards is so great that nothing in the world can daunt them; and so, in spite of all, they reached the summit and put the Indians to flight.

CHAPTER XI

How the captain Robledo explored the province of Arma and fixed his camp in the village of the principal Chief, named Maytama; and of other notable things that happened.

HAVING gained the summit, the Spaniards continued to follow the Indians, killing some of them, and we saw that they were adorned with very beautiful ornaments of gold. They also had plumes of feathers, crowns, and

large plaques, and some were seen who were in armour of gold from head to foot. It was certainly beautiful to see some of the pieces they took, and from this the range was called *La Loma de los Armados.* We lodged in two of the houses there, very happy at finding that God our Lord had presented us with so rich and populous a land, in order that, being by us discovered, His name might be worshipped and the Holy Gospel preached.

On the following day we departed thence, and saw that the province was very large, full of villages, planted with maize and great rushes, and that there were groves of fruit trees, and palms yielding *pixibays.* The villages on the slopes and higher ground contained circular houses so large that there was room for fifteen or twenty people in each. There are many other things to tell of this province, which I have written in my *Book of Foundations*, where the reader will have seen them.

When we were passing out of a valley we heard a still greater noise at the top of the next range of hills, whither the road that we were taking led; and, marching more quickly, we came to the beginning of the rise, and saw that the pass was difficult before reaching the summit, for, besides presenting a steep ascent there were some rocks and gullies which would make it necessary for the horses to go gently, without attempting to press quickly forward. The captain demanded peace from the natives, and obedience to the Emperor; if this was refused he would make ruthless war. The Indians, deriding these demands, replied to us that we came to conquer and to rob what did not belong to us, that we should return to our own country, and leave them quiet and at peace in theirs. Having said these words and others, they shot off many darts and stones, showing that they intended to defend the approach to their village.

The captain seeing that the barbarians intended to

defend the pass, and that the noon-day heat was coming on, ordered the foot soldiers to lose no time in attacking the Indians with shields, cross-bows and dogs, in order to take the pass, so that the horses might be able to come up. In this they were successful, while some of the horsemen, laboriously seeking a way by one or other side of the mountain in spite of the Indians, found a place by which they were able to come up with the horses, to the position reached by the men on foot. Then the shouting was greater, for the Indians did not dare to await the coming of men who they saw were so valiant; and not caring to hear the neighing of the horses, turned their backs and began to run away, abandoning their arms—the cowards. The mounted men followed and overtook some of them, taking a quantity of gold in ornaments such as I have said they have. All the Spaniards who were behind having come up, we proceeded to encamp on the summit, which they called *de los Cavallos*. Here they found but little maize, as it was only in leaf.

The Chiefs and principal people of those villages, astounded at seeing the majesty of the Spaniards and their great power, and fearing to oppose them more, agreed to go to the captain peaceably. So they came to our camp with nets full of ornaments of the finest gold, asking the captain for pardon for having been so mad as not to have laid down their arms sooner. The captain received them very well and agreed to the peace. As the inhabitants of those villages were so rich they made presents of gold to the Spaniards. When they brought water for the horses, they offered very large and fine golden ornaments, so fine that they exceeded 21 carats. That night the captain sent the *Comendador* Hernán Rodríguez de Sosa, with a sufficient force to the village of one *Maytama*, who was the principal Chief of the province, to capture him or oblige him to render obedience to his Majesty. The *Comendador* started during the first night watch and marched until he arrived at

Maytama's hill. He found the Indians ready for war, and, attacking them until daylight, he put them to flight, captured a brother of Maytama, and saw them, both men and women, take away many loads of gold. The Spaniards could only capture a few because the thickness of the maize in the fields was so great. For this reason the Indians escaped with most of the gold, which if it had been taken would have been a great booty, nevertheless the Spaniards and their servants took some.

The captain, with the whole camp, arrived the next day. As it was known throughout the province that the Spaniards occupied the buildings of Maytama the natives sent messengers proposing to be friends and offering great presents of gold. The gold was brought in this way: the Indians came with much shouting, bearing long poles from the shoulder of one to that of another, from which there hung by cords the plaques, crowns, bracelets, and plumes of gold. On arriving where the captain was, they set them down before him, and thus the presents I have mentioned came from all parts of the province. The Chief, who was a prisoner, sent an old woman to bring gold, and next day she brought about 2,000 *pesos*, at which we were astonished. The Chief said that he had more gold buried and that he wanted to go and fetch it. He asked the captain to tell off some Spaniards to go with him, intending to escape if it were possible. The captain ordered some soldiers to go with him. When they came to some precipitous rocks, hating to remain in the power of the Spaniards, he determined to kill himself. With a barbarous and heathen mind, he hurled himself down over the precipice and left his brains among the stones, so that when the Spaniards reached the place, the Chief's soul was already in hell. The Spaniards returned to the captain and explained to him the manner of the captive Chief's death. Principal natives came to the camp each day with presents of gold, and the captain

came to the conclusion that he had arrived at a good place for founding a city. He determined to send the *Comendador* Hernán Rodríguez de Sosa to explore the region lower down the great river, and to remain there. He set out with forty Spaniards, horse and foot. The *Comendador* came to a large village which he called *Pascua* because he passed Easter there; continuing his advance he came to another village, where he met with some resistance. Leaving it, and taking a northerly course, he discovered the village of *Cenufara* and a place they called *the Hill of Maize.* Advancing further he arrived at a village called *Pobres*, whence he returned to the region of Arma, because he learnt, from statements he received, that there were no other settlements for a great distance.

At this time the inhabitants of the province of Arma conceived such hatred for the Spaniards that they determined to make war in common against us. This appeared from their not coming to our camp as usual, nor supplying us with provisions; while they killed our Indian servants and negroes who fell into their hands. The captain got notice of this league and conspiracy, and ordered his men to be on their guard against any sudden attack on the camp by Indians. But when they were all determined to rise against us, they failed to come to the point, owing to some disputes among themselves, and we saw them fall back well supplied with gold ornaments. When the *Comendador* returned, the captain resolved to quit the province, and departed, leaving it as hostile towards us as when we entered it. When we were about to depart, a number of Indians stationed themselves above our camp. The captain saw this and told the interpreters to call upon them in a friendly way to come down. They came, believing they were in no danger. The captain ordered all of those who came to be thrust inside the huts and issued orders to the Spaniards to give them wounds and cut off their hands.

In this way more than thirty were mutilated, as many more being killed. In that state the survivors were sent to their villages. Then the captain quitted the province of Arma. He intended to leave his ensign Suer de Nava there, to found a city; but, thinking it would be better to explore the province of Quinbaya, that plan was given up. Leaving Arma, and following the way by which he had come, the captain arrived at the province of Paucura, whence he departed for Pozo. There he seized several principal men and went to Carrapa, where he burnt one of them for some very trifling reason; and here we must leave him, because it is necessary to relate the manner in which the captains Pedro de Añasco and Juan de Ampudía met their deaths.

CHAPTER XII

How the captain Osorio was killed, with some other Christians, going to the new kingdom, and how the captain Pedro de Añasco was also killed by the Indians.

LET the reader's attention be now turned to the exploration of the province of Bogotá by the Spaniards coming from Santa Marta, which we mentioned in the first book of *The War of Las Salinas*, and to what happened between them and the captain Belalcazar. I also related how the captain Añasco founded the town of Timaná, where, after coming from Cali when Lorenzo de Aldana was General of those cities on behalf of the Marquis Pizarro, he was confirmed in his charge, and returned as lieutenant to the said town of Timaná. The captain Juan de Ampudia was lieutenant in Popayán, Miguel Muñoz in Cali, and Lorenzo de Aldana had gone to Quito, as we have already stated. While this region was under these lieutenants, glowing accounts reached them of the wonderful richness

of the new kingdom,[1] the quantity of gold and emeralds there, and the high value of commodities; so that there was a desire to take thither all the merchandize and flocks that could be collected. A merchant who was at Popayán, named Pero López del Infierno,[2] Captain Osorio (a relation of Juan de Ampudia) and others, agreed to leave Popayán for the new kingdom with merchandize, horses, mares, slaves, and much worked silver. With these goods, which amounted to a great money value, they left Popayán and set out on the road for Bogotá, without distrusting the Indians, because, as it was peace time, they had no fear of hostilities with them. They went on until they arrived in the country of the *Yalcones*, which borders on that of Páez. At this time the captain Pedro de Añasco had left Timaná to go to Popayán, to trade for horses and other things he required. He came to the country of the Yalcones, which is where I have said Osorio had arrived. The natives of that region are numerous and determined. They fight with lances 30 *palmos* long, and have other formidable weapons. They resolved to rebel against the Spaniards, and not merely to refuse obedience, but to kill the captain and the others who had come from Popayán. As they had notice of the numerous horses, mares, and other things the Spaniards brought, they desired to put their thought into execution to satiate their cursed bellies with human flesh, and to rob what we have said. They took up arms with this intent, and planned that one party should attack the captain Pedro de Añasco, while another fell upon the Christians who had come from Popayán, for they feared that if they did not adopt this division of force, their plan might not succeed. The Indians were upon all the hills, but they repaired with feigned friendliness to the ravine of *Apirimá* (which is the locality where Osorio was) to put the Spaniards off their guard.

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[1] That is, New Granada.

[2] So in the MS.

At this time the captain Pedro de Añasco had arrived at a valley called *Ayunga*. When the Indians formed the intention already stated, it came to the knowledge of a friendly Chief who was with Añasco. This Chief told Añasco of the league formed by the Yalcones, those of Páez, and other neighbouring tribes, and that, as he had only two horses, he had better go back. The captain made light of what the Chief had told him, showing that he thought little of it, and he continued on until he came to a building, late in the day, where two Indians appeared. One brought a young lion, dead and putrid, for the captain to eat, the other brought some cobs of young maize. The captain, seeing the presents, knew what they signified, and the Indians, dissembling, said that presently, the next day, they would bring those who would eat the captain and his Christians. The friendly Chief then spoke to Pedro de Añasco urging him to return into the forest, which was not far from there, and he would be safe from the Indians. But he would not go back because he did not believe that the audacity of the barbarians could reach to such a point. He ordered all his men to be ready with their arms, and that some of them should keep watch on the roads leading to the buildings where they were encamped, which was done. The Indians had gathered in a great mass and, before dawn, they attacked the Spanish sentries with a violent clamour. Although the sentries behaved as Spaniards always do, they were overpowered, killed, cut in pieces, and carried away to be eaten. The captain, Pedro de Añasco, hearing the noise, commended himself to God, and mounted his horse. With his companions he then awaited the Indians' onslaught, his men animating each other. Añasco was a well-grown man of fine presence, one of the principal knights of Seville; but for his sins, or by God's permission, he came at last to a most cruel and unworthy death, for such a warrior.

The Indians, in much confusion, had already rushed upon

the Spaniards, when the captain, and Baltasar del Rio charged them with their horses. Though the Spaniards showed great determination, they could not prevail against such a bevy of lances as faced their horses; nevertheless Pedro de Añasco broke into them, while the other horseman was killed. The captain, whose horse came out wounded and bridleless, turned again to attack the enemy with his blood-covered lance, but they fell upon him in such numbers that, after having killed the horse, they captured him alive. The rest of the Spaniards were all either killed or frightfully wounded, some of them having their bodies so full of lances that nothing could be seen but the wooden staves. Others fell wounded and were promptly despatched. Others had their eyes or their tongues torn out, or were impaled. Two Spaniards, one named Cornejo and the other Mideros, resisted so valiantly that, after having fought against the multitude of savages, they sallied forth from that place in spite of them all, and, with their swiftness of foot, ran off in the direction of Timaná. For four days they wandered without food except some wild herbs, pursued by the Indians, suffering other great hardships and many times surrounded, until by God's pleasure they got free and made for Timaná, where the death of Pedro de Añasco had already been rumoured, and Pedro de Guzmán de Herrera had gone forth with three horsemen to find out whether it was true. One night, when the party were asleep, the Indians attacked them. They mounted their horses in great haste. Pedro de Guzmán was getting on his, but as they did not leave him time to cast off the halter, and the horse was unable to start, he was killed with many lance wounds. The other Spaniards, though in great danger, escaped to Timaná.

Captain Osorio was, as we have said, in the ravine of Apirimá with those who had come with him, numbering sixteen Spaniards. From his camp to where Añasco's people were massacred, was not more than two leagues.

Just as they were about to resume their journey, the great mass of Indians rushed upon them, after having eaten the bodies of all the Spaniards they had killed, and robbed all the baggage. They had taken the captain Pedro de Añasco alive. He was sent all through the province, that he might be seen in the market places and villages, where the people heaped insults upon the unhappy captain and made his body suffer a thousand martyrdoms. They killed him by a lingering and cruel death. On one day they cut off an arm, on another they tore out an eye, on the next they cut off his lips, and so they continued to consume the being that had been a man, until life was ended, when the body found sepulture in the bellies of his murderers.

The savages, having next arrived at Apirimá, where the Christians who had gone to Popayán were encamped, encircled them, and then, with great clamour, attacked them suddenly and began to wound them. Although the Spaniards attempted a defence they could not prevail. Only one escaped, a Spaniard whose name was Serrano. All the rest were killed and eaten by the Indians, who also captured the merchandize and other things which were intended for sale at Bogotá. After they had killed the Spaniards and seized all their property the Indians returned to their villages very pleased with themselves.

CHAPTER XIII

How, when the death of the Spaniards was known at Popayán, the captain Juan de Ampudia set out from thence, and how he and other Christians were killed by the same Indians.

WHEN the Indians had returned to their villages, as we related in the last chapter, they had great banquets and drinking orgies. It was agreed by them that if any Spaniards should come against them from Popayán and Timaná, they would kill them all, or do to them as they

had done to Pedro de Añasco. As soon as this was settled they made great trenches and walls for defence, cutting the hills where the roads led, and using haste to make arms.

When Serrano arrived at Popayán and told the captain Juan de Ampudia the fate of the Spaniards, he was much distressed and determined to make war on the murderers. He took from Popayán sixty Spaniards, horse and foot, as well armed as was possible, with what cross-bows there were, and very fierce dogs. He left Popayán and marched until he came to a province called *Guanaca.* Thence he approached the Yalcones, and arrived near Apirimá, the scene of the death of Osorio and his party. As soon as the Indians knew of his arrival, they stationed themselves on the heights, waiting in ambush to kill the invaders. Two of the Indians having shown themselves, however, the captain sent Antonio Redondo, a citizen of Cali, with ten Spaniards, to try and capture them. But when Antonio reached the place where they had been seen, a great force of the enemy burst into view and attacked his ten men, so that the Spaniards turned and fled, not stopping until they got to where the captain had halted. The Indians overtook one, named Paredes, and killed him. When Juan de Ampudia saw this, he came to the rescue with the rest of his force and attacked the Indians in such sort that they impaled many with their lances, while the Spaniards on foot killed even more with swords and cross-bows. The killed were so numerous that a stream which ran down the ravine became the colour of blood.

The Indians, astounded at the turn of events, fled to escape from the dogs, which tore their flesh, and many threw themselves over the crags. The victory was with the Spaniards, and a Chief was captured. He told the captain Juan de Ampudia that the Indians were strongly entrenched and had cut the roads. The captain assured him of his life, and told him that he must guide them by a

safe track; and that for doing so he would be in no danger. The barbarian promised, and so they set out from that place with the captive Indian as a guide, wishing to reach the summit of the pass. The Indians had united from many parts, and all, with long lances, slings, and other arms, prepared to deal death to the Christians, assuming that they could do it very easily, and making a great yelling. The Spaniards continued to ascend the range, Captain Francisco García de Tovar, being in front with the infantry. Indians appeared in all directions and inquired of the Spaniards whether they were fat, as they were going to eat both them and their horses. Juan de Ampudia and Luis Bernal placed themselves on the height. Hernán Sánchez Morillo and others on horseback missed the track, but, though with much difficulty, they gained the summit, which had already been reached by those on foot. One and all then commended themselves to God, and calling on the apostle St. James to help them, attacked the Indians, being only the number I have stated against 4,000 Indians. After the battle had continued for a long time, the ground being covered with dead and wounded Indians—for only one Christian was killed and very few were wounded—the barbarians, amazed at the strength of the Spaniards, abandoned the field and began to flee. The Christians were so exhausted and fatigued that they could scarcely stand on their feet. There they passed the night. The Indians, joined by others from all parts, came near to the Spaniards' bivouac and, by the advice of some of the latter, the captain Tovar with forty shield and cross-bow men, went forth to attack those who were nearest. The Indians waited and attacked the Spaniards in front, giving a terrific shout. Those who are not accustomed to hear this clamour often lose their presence of mind, and commit very ugly faults. But Tovar and his companions fought well, killing and wounding many. The Indians said that all had to be eaten

that night. Showing his face and commanding person, Tovar exclaimed: "Dogs! I am Francisco García de Tovar, and with me and not with others have ye to do." Then, by the marvellous valour of this captain and the Spaniards his companions, they did such deeds that a great number of Indians were killed, the rest fled, and Tovar returned to the captain, who received him with welcome.

Soon afterwards Juan de Ampudia marched down the mountain side, with all the Spaniards, to some buildings, where they encamped. Francisco García de Tovar, with a guard, entered first and found that there were no Indians; because, when they escaped from him, they had fled to where the principal Chiefs of the Yalcones and of Páez were waiting to collect more Indians. They sent a message to the Christians, calling upon them to leave their country, for that, as their fathers had left it free they ought not to seek to usurp it nor to deprive them of their ancient liberty. If they refused, they would be treated like Pedro de Añasco and the other Spaniards who were killed. The captain replied that they must render obedience to his Majesty, and that then he would presently leave their province and return to Popayán. When these conferences were finished and the messengers had departed, the captain, seeing how much work the men had done, and how tired they all were, besides being very few to make war against so many Indians, especially such a daring pack, decided to return to Popayán, and to punish the province of Páez, which was also up in arms, on his way. So they got ready to depart. When about to start Francisco García de Tovar said to the captain, Ampudia, that it would be very desirable to gain the summit of the pass, to prevent the Indians from occupying it, lest they pelt them with their darts and stones. Juan de Ampudia concurred, and ordered all to be prepared, while some young men went on to gain the pass. As some of the Spaniards had stayed behind with

a horse that was knocked up, they were told to wait there and that, if they could not arrive while yet day, they were to sleep there that night. When it was late these Spaniards arrived with the horse cut up in pieces for eating. Juan de Ampudia told them to go to some declivities which were in front of where they were.

Francisco García de Tovar again urged that they should occupy the summit, for otherwise they would be in great danger; and he took the fact that they had not seen a single Indian that day to be a bad sign. When Francisco García de Tovar said this, the Spaniards were making their way towards the slopes and level spaces near there: but Juan de Ampudia saying "Let us go where I said, for it is only a short way off" they went on contrary to the advice of Tovar. They moved off in very great sadness, for neither did the men speak, nor the horses neigh, nor the dogs bark. As they marched thus they heard a great yelling of the Indians who, when they saw the route the Spaniards were taking, rejoiced because they felt sure they would kill and eat them all; having a great quantity of huge stones to roll down, which they had collected on the summit. As soon as the Spaniards had reached the declivities, the Indians began to hurl down so many and such large stones that the former, from fear of them, divided themselves into four or five parties. Then the Indians renewed their terrible yelling, hurled their darts, and asked if the Spaniards were nice and fat, for none of them would escape death. Juan de Ampudia and Tovar went together, telling Hernán Sánchez Morillo to go with the horses until he could get clear of the declivity. At this time the Indians came down to attack the Spaniards, who, though divided and in such small numbers, fought with a valour and desperation that can scarcely be believed. But God was with them and on their side, and this being so they performed such famous deeds as these

we relate, and others greater, as indeed they always do. After they had killed many Indians, they saw that the others were taking fright at what they had witnessed, and the horsemen, having got over a difficult pass, were in a position to join in the assault against the Indians and help their own companions.

Francisco García de Tovar received three wounds, and he and Juan de Ampudia had managed to keep together with sixteen other Spaniards. After having defeated the Indians who first came down, they set off to repel another large batch of them. Although the Spaniards fought as at first, and killed some of the enemy with cross-bows, yet the Indians were so numerous that by no manner of means could the foot-soldiers advance. They had to retreat and join the horsemen who were now nearing them. While they were doing this the captain Juan de Ampudia, being a fleshy man, could not keep up with the others. The Indians overtook him and pierced his body with many lances, so that he died in great misery. They stripped the body, without even leaving his linen drawers. Juan de Ampudia was a native of Jerez de la Frontera. Then the horsemen came up and inflicted great loss on the Indians. They gained the summit and called on the rest of the Spaniards to come up, as there was nothing to fear. All who had come with Juan de Ampudia were wounded or quite worn out, as the reader may easily imagine. With much trouble they all assembled on the heights, and greatly did they rejoice at seeing themselves there, embracing each other as if they had not met for many days. The only killed were Juan de Ampudia and one other Spaniard, besides a *Morisca* and a few friendly Indians of our party.

Then there was a fresh attack by more than twenty thousand Indian warriors, with the intention of killing all the Spaniards and finishing them. Seeing this state of affairs, after having cast the body of Juan de Ampudia into

a river, to prevent the Indians from eating it, they determined to return to Popayán. In order that the Indians might think they were still there, they left the tents standing and tied some of the dogs to poles, that the Indians, hearing them barking, might have no suspicion that their masters had gone. And so it was. They fled with such speed that they covered in that one night what it had taken them four days to do, in coming. Next day, though the Indians followed, they could not overtake them. And so they marched until they arrived at Popayán, where there was great grief for the death of the good and brave captain Juan de Ampudia.

CHAPTER XIV

How the Adelantado Don Pascual de Andagoya entered the cities, and was received by them as Governor.

HERE I would have concluded my account of the events which occurred in this province, in order to turn the narrative to what happened to the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro; but it will tend to the clearness of both the one subject and the other if I write touching the arrival of Andagoya. Let the reader remember that we mentioned that officer's arrival at Panamá, and that his Majesty appointed him to the government of the Rio de San Juan, which is in the land of Tierra Firme on the confines of Peru; and that, notwithstanding his Majesty's order that he was not to encroach upon any tract settled or explored by any of the captains of the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, he did that same, although it was in disobedience to the royal command. At that time the port of Buenaventura was scarcely discovered. So he took experienced pilots with him who, by their art, might seek a port by which to enter that land. With the people he had

assembled, he left Panamá and sailed on until he arrived at the Isle of Palms. After some things that happened, his ships entered a bay into which many rivers which rose in the mountains emptied themselves. From the position of the harbour, the opinion was that the city of Cali would be found inland. So he began to travel by one of the roughest and most difficult roads that is to be found in any part of the world. After having suffered great hardships, and lost all the horses, he reached the city of Cali and was well received by the inhabitants. Andagoya presented the commission he brought with him, declaring that he came to do much good and to maintain justice for all. After reading it, but without asking to see his instructions, nor considering that there was no river called after San Juan in that land, they received Andagoya as Governor and Captain-general: in which they acted very foolishly.

As soon as the Adelantado had been received at Cali, he heard of the captain Jorge Robledo's mission to explore, and also that he had founded a city in Anzerma. So he sent Miguel Muñoz to take possession of that city in his name, and ordered its designation to be changed from Santa Ana to *San Juan*. He also sent to take possession of Popayán, and was acknowledged without any opposition in that city. He wrote to Robledo by Miguel Muñoz, making him great offers. When Muñoz arrived at Anzerma, and presented the Adelantado's commissions, he was acknowledged there as he had been in Cali. He heard from the Indians that Robledo, and we who were with him, were not far off, having passed the river; and on receipt of this news many wrote letters giving an account of what was happening. Miguel Muñoz returned to give an account to Andagoya of what he had done on his behalf. The latter, feeling that the way in which he had occupied the cities did not leave him secure, and fearing that Belalcazar, who had peopled and founded them, would return to them as

Governor, made great haste to collect evidence and witnesses against the latter, believing that in this way he would discomfit Belalcázar, and that his Majesty and the members of his Council would confer no favours on him. Leaving the Adelantado busy with these intrigues, we will return to Robledo, and tell how he explored the province of *Quinbaya* and founded the city of Cartago there.

CHAPTER XV

How the captain Jorge Robledo explored the province of Quinbaya, and how he founded the city of Cartago.

ROBLEDO was sufficiently informed, in the province of Carrapa, that Quinbaya was large and full of very rich Chiefs and lords. As he was desirous of forming another new settlement where he could divide the districts among the Spaniards who were serving with him, he asked the Indians of Carrapa to supply him with what was necessary. When he was ready he set out and marched until he reached the borders of the province of Quinbaya. As all that region is full of large and very thick cane brakes, and the Spaniards did not see any large villages like those they had passed, they became very despondent and said that it would have been better to have settled in the countries they had passed, since they were more profitable. The captain replied to those who said this that he would be delighted to do as they wished, and that presently they would return. So the men began to prepare for going back. The captain then intended to send and make a settlement in the region of Arma, entrusting the service to his ensign Suer de Nava, while he himself would return to the city of Santa Ana, the name of which Andagoya had ordered to be changed to San Juan. But there were not wanting those who murmured at these changes of plan. They said that the best course

to pursue would be to pass through the cane brakes, and see what lay beyond them. So after discussing both schemes the captain ordered the ensign Suer de Nava to go forward with forty Spaniards, and force a way through those cane brakes and dense wilds.

When it became known in all that country that the Spaniards were there the Chiefs were so luxurious and vicious that not only did they make no resistance, but they decided to go to the Chief of the Spaniards with presents of gold, thinking that he would then pass on. One of them, named *Tacurumbi* came to where the captain was, bringing a piece of gold which weighed more than 700 *pesos*; with other very rich vases of gold and finely wrought pieces. The Spaniards rejoiced greatly at the arrival of this Chief because he told of the riches there were among them. Those who had gone with Suer de Nava came back asking for rewards for their news of the land they had discovered, which was to the effect that they came to many dwellings of Chiefs, in which were plenty of supplies, and they saw large villages and groves of trees, and all the countryside as far as the great valley of Cali. The captain went to join Suer de Nava, and from all parts of the province came Chiefs with quantities of gold, which, with what more he had had, he appropriated for himself without any other law empowering him to do so than the forcefulness and strength which captains then possessed, and are marks of great tyranny. After having taken stock of the villages in the land, he determined to found a city there and to give it all he had discovered, for its jurisdiction. He personally selected a site in the position which seemed most convenient, and thus in the year 1540 he founded the city of *Cartago* in the name of the Emperor Don Carlos, and the royal crown of Castille, and of the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, Governor of all the provinces of Peru. He gave that name to the city because all we who were engaged

in that expedition called ourselves *Cartagineses*, having come from the prefecture of Cartagena. Pero López Patiño and Martín de Arriaga were appointed *alcaldes*.

As soon as he had completed the founding of Cartago, the captain left his ensign Suer de Nava as his lieutenant there, and decided to go to Anzerma and Cali to see the Adelantado Andagoya, for by letters, and from a Spaniard named Alonso de Ortega, he heard about all that was happening. He had been much grieved at the news of the deaths of Juan de Ampudia and of Pedro de Añasco, and of Pedro de Guzmán de Herrera, with whom he had been on terms of great friendship.

CHAPTER XVI

How the captain Jorge de Robledo left the city of Cartago and went to Cali, where he was well received, and returned as Captain and Lieutenant-General of the cities he had founded.

HAVING decided to return to Anzerma and to go and see Andagoya, the captain left Cartago, after having arranged several things with Suer de Nava. He travelled until he arrived at Anzerma, where he learnt what had been taking place, and that some of the settlers had worked against him. Concealing his anger for the time, he went on to Cali (where the Adelantado was) accompanied by a dozen or so Spaniards. When he came near the city he sent a soldier on with the news. As soon as the Adelantado heard it, he rejoiced and ordered that Robledo should have a great reception. That captain, having as little guile as the others, not only offered to accept the Adelantado as Governor of all the cities he had founded, but sent him 4,000 *pesos* of gold, part of the ornaments he had received during his conquests, and divided a larger quantity among other persons. Andagoya, to make his

friendship more secure, married him to a relation of his wife. After he had been at Cali some days, Robledo departed for the city of Santa Ana, or San Juan as it was now called, accompanied by us and those who had come with him. Having settled certain affairs there, and leaving Ruy Vanegas as his lieutenant, he went back to Cartago to make the *repartimiento*. He found that there had been some dissensions between the *alcaldes* and the lieutenant he had left there. They were of a trifling character, but taking them as if they concerned himself, he arrested the *alcaldes*. Having arrived at the city he acknowledged Andagoya as Governor, and turned his attention to the pacification of the natives.

He then sent Alvarado de Mendoza, with some Spaniards on foot, to see what lay on the other side of the snowy cordillera of the Andes. Arrived at the summit, they saw roads which crossed the opposite river-valley, but considering that a further advance could not be made without horses, they returned. Captain Robledo then turned his attention to settling the *repartimiento* among the Spaniards who were there. We will now revert to the proceedings of the Marquis, and leave this part of the history until the coming of the Governor Belalcázar.

CHAPTER XVII

Of what passed in the city of Los Reyes, and how the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, with the concurrence of the Bishop Friar Vicente de Valverde, made the general repartimiento: and the departure of Gómez de Alvarado to form a settlement at Guanuco.

DURING the time that the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro was absent from the city of Los Reyes, the natives not being yet quite subdued, nor having given up the hope of regaining their ancient liberty by killing the Spaniards, two principal citizens of Lima, named Francisco

de Vargas (a native of Campos) and Sebastian de Torres, who held an *encomienda* in the province of Guaraz, being at Guaylas, with some others, were killed by the Indians. When this was known at Lima, captain Francisco de Chaves [1] [the good] went to punish the Indians, with the approval of the municipality and judicial authorities, taking a sufficient force of horse and foot. They laid waste the fields and villages of the natives, because they were found up in arms. The war made by the Spaniards was so cruel that the Indians, fearing lest they should all be killed, prayed for peace. This was granted by the captain Francisco de Chaves, who thought he had done harm enough. The war being ended he returned to Lima.

At this time the Marquis had founded the cities of Guamanga and Arequipa, and had visited all the provinces of the Collao. He was so much fatigued that he was glad to return to Lima where, after some days, he resolved to make a general *repartimiento*, with the consent and concurrence of the Bishop, Valverde, because such had been the order of his Majesty.

They both, the Bishop and the Marquis, swore solemnly to make the *repartimiento* with all fidelity, without considering anything but the service that each man had performed. But though they took this oath, there were some who said that they kept it badly, because they left many conquerors and explorers poor and in want, while they gave to many of their servants the best and richest of the *repartimientos*.

As the Marquis had founded the cities we have men-

[1] There were two captains of the name Francisco de Chaves, believed to be cousins. They should not be confused together. One was a very distinguished officer, a friend of the Marquis Pizarro but not ignoring his faults. He was murdered by Juan de Herrada and the other assassins of Pizarro. The other was one of Almagro's captains, also murdered by Juan de Herrada on account of a private quarrel. For distinction I call one Francisco de Chaves (the good) and the other Francisco de Chaves (the bad).

tioned, and considered it desirable that one should be founded in the province of Guanuco, he presently determined to give orders with that object. Looking round to select a captain to perform this service, he concluded that Gómez de Alvarado, brother of Don Pedro, would do it well, while it would offer a means to gain his friendship; and it might even furnish an opening for those of Chile[1] to lose the hatred they felt against the Marquis owing to past differences. So the Marquis sent for García de Alvarado, and told him that he had determined to found a city in the province of Guanuco, that he should have the *repartimiento* of Indians there, and offered him the appointment. Gómez de Alvarado, seeing the delay there was in Spain in providing for justice, and not being able maintain himself, but now in actual need, replied to the Marquis that he would do what he ordered. When the magistrates and settlers in Lima understood that the Marquis intended to found a city at Guanuco, they protested that it was not just to so curtail the extent of their jurisdiction. Already Guamanga had been taken from them. They told the Marquis further that he could not order such a settlement to be made in those provinces, since they belonged to their city. But this did not prevent him from despatching the captain Gómez de Alvarado with the people who wished to go with him, among them being some from Chile, friends of his who had been old soldiers in Peru. With these he set out for Guanuco, and in the locality which appeared most suitable for maintaining a new population, he founded the city, naming Diego de Caravajal and Rodrigo Núñez, formerly the Camp-master of Almagro the elder, to be its *alcaldes*. The people of Lima did not cease to complain, urging that the extent of their jurisdiction should not be curtailed. It came to such a pitch that the Marquis was induced to

[1] *i.e.* the partisans of old Diego de Almagro, deceased.

abandon the title of "city," and give the new settlement the name of "town," to be subject to Lima. When Gómez de Alvarado learnt this, he came from the new city or town of Guanuco to Lima with the determination not to return to it unless it were ordered to be called a city.

Further on we will relate what happened afterwards at Guanuco, for all that was done by Gómez de Alvarado counted for nothing; and the Marquis ordered one Pedro Barroso to take charge of the affairs of that province. At this time the men of the Almagro party were in sore straits. They wandered in the Indian villages to get something to eat, barely clothed and in great misery. As they all knew that Don Diego was in Lima, they came down from Charcas, Arequipa, and Cuzco to seek him, saying that his Majesty was treating them badly, in not sending out a judge against the Marquis. Those of the party who were in Lima were not in less necessity than those who were away. For some time before this the Marquis had directed Don Diego to leave his house,[1] and though he afterwards sojourned in the house of Francisco de Chaves, he was also sent away from thence. Juan de Herrada and Juan de Balsa sought him out. There arrived to join him thirty or forty of those who had followed the Adelantado, old yeomen of his father, and they too suffered great want. The Governor ordered nothing for their sustenance nor did he remember that without Almagro he would not have been what he was, nor would he have attained at the command he then held. Those of the Almagro party endured their squalid condition as best they could.

At that time there were in the city of Lima the captains Juan de Sayavedra, Francisco de Chaves, Cristóbal de

[1] The Marquis had received young Diego Almagro most hospitably in his own house, where he was lodged as a guest for months. His conduct must have been very disreputable, to have made the Marquis send him away to the care of Francisco de Chaves. Cieza de León says that he was addicted to the vices of his countrymen.

Sotelo, Saucedo, Juan de Herrada, Don Alonso de Montemayor, and the accountant Juan de Guzmán, besides other old friends of the Adelantado. Juan de Herrada employed himself in contriving how they and Don Diego could be maintained. It happened that there was only one cloak among ten or twelve of them, and when one went out with it on, the others remained indoors, so that the cloak was always in use. Besides those who arrived to join Don Diego he had other friends in the city, but there was not found one citizen who had the charity or the will to give them anything to eat. No one would maintain the youth Don Diego, nor those who were with him, excepting one Domingo de la Presa, who put a small village near the city at their disposal, the Indians of which provided them with maize, firewood, and other necessaries. We will leave off writing of the men of Chile until the time came when they slew the Marquis, and we will say how the factor Illán Suárez de Caravajal got word that these men of Chile had come to Lima, where it might be they would plot something not for the wellbeing of the Marquis. This factor wrote a letter in cypher and sent it. This made it necessary for the licentiate Benito Suárez to explain the contents of the letter.[1] He told the Marquis that his brother the factor advised him, in that letter, to be on his guard lest the men of Chile kill him; and to be careful of his person, because many were coming from Charcas, Arequipa, and Cuzco to join with Don Diego. Although the Marquis received this information, he took no steps nor did he place any guard over his person. He made Dr. Blázquez his lieutenant, in succession to Francisco de Chaves, who had held the post up to that time.

The captain Alonso de Alvarado arrived from Chachapoyas, and had some words with Francisco de Chaves and

[1] Illán and Benito Suárez de Caravajal were brothers.

Gómez de Alvarado in the presence of the Marquis. It came to such a pass that Alonso de Alvarado and Gómez de Alvarado challenged each other and took the field. When the Marquis heard of it he interfered and induced these two captains to make peace. He looked on Alonso de Alvarado with much favour, as his own captain and the founder of the city of La Frontera.[1] With permission of the Marquis he returned to that city.

CHAPTER XVIII

How, after Gonzalo Pizarro was received as Governor of Quito, he determined to undertake the conquest of El Dorado; and of his departure from Quito.

WE have already related, in a former chapter, how the Marquis Pizarro ordered the captain Gonzalo Pizarro, his brother, to depart for the city of Quito, where, by virtue of an authority from his Majesty, he would be received as Governor. In reality the authority was not to the effect that the Marquis could divide the government; still less did it empower him, if it should seem to him fit, to grant the whole to one of his brothers or to any one he chose. The aim of the Marquis was to establish his brother in that province, that his Majesty might not grant the government of it to Belalcázar, whose setting out by the Rio Grande was now known.[2] Although this was so, they say that the Marquis wrote to His Majesty that, if it were decided to divide the government, Belalcázar deserved whatever favour might be shown him. News also came to Lima that

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[1] Chachapoyas.

[2] On his way to Spain to solicit the governorship of Popayán, and other parts he had explored.

Pascual de Andagoya was coming as Governor of the province of the river of San Juan. This caused the Marquis great annoyance, and he appointed one Isidro de Tapia to be his lieutenant at Cali, nay, also at Anzerma, in consequence, it is said, of heavy bribes given to the Secretary Antonio Picado. Although this was done, they would not accept him nor give up Robledo in his stead.

To return to Gonzalo Pizarro. He arrived at the city of Quito, where he found Lorenzo de Aldana, and by virtue of the authority we have mentioned, they received him as Governor of Quito, San Miguel, Puerto Viejo, Guayaquil and Pasto. Soon afterwards Pedro de Puelles, who had been the Governor's lieutenant at Quito, arrived on the sea coast.

Now Gonzalo Pizarro was desirous of undertaking some expedition, and observing in that city of Quito many men, all either youths or veterans, he became eager for the discovery of the valley of *El Dorado*, based on the same story which the captains Pedro de Añasco and Belalcázar had brought, and on what was said of the land of Cinnamon which, a short time before, had been invaded by the captain Gonzalo Díaz de Pineda. This Pineda, with a party of Spaniards, penetrated as far as some very lofty mountains, but many Indians came from their lower slopes to prevent the Spaniards from advancing further. These Indians killed some of the Spaniards, and amongst them a cleric. They had made many trenches and ditches. Pineda's party advanced for some days until they came to the *Quijos*, and the Cinnamon valley. They returned to Quito without having been able to fully explore the region of which they had heard such great things. The Indians said that further on, if they advanced, they would come to a widespreading flat country, teeming with Indians who possess great riches, for they all wear gold ornaments, and where are no forests nor mountain

ranges.[1] When this news was spread in Quito, every one who was there wanted to take part in the expedition. The Governor Gonzalo Pizarro began to make preparations and collect men and horses. In a few days he got together 220 Spaniards, horse and foot,[2] naming Don Antonio de Rivera to be Camp-master, and Juan de Acosta Ensign-general. As soon as the men of the expedition had been mustered Gonzalo Pizarro ordered Don Antonio de Rivera to go forward with the vanguard. Don Antonio replied that he would do so gladly, and all got ready to start. In the city of Quito, Pedro de Puelles remained as Lieutenant and Chief Justice. They started well equipped, and with plenty of provisions.[3] The natives of Quito, on seeing them pass beyond their domains, declared that they would find great riches, and praised the land of which news had been brought; while the Spaniards already imagined the plunder before their eyes, and believed it theirs.

CHAPTER XIX

How Gonzalo Pizarro left the city of Quito for the land of Cinnamon, which was one of the most laborious explorations that have been made in the mainland or the South Sea.

THIS exploration and conquest by Gonzalo Pizarro, we are bound to say, was the most laborious expedition that has been undertaken in these Indies, in which the Spaniards endured great hardships, famine, and miseries, which well tried the virtues of their nation, like similar events that have occurred in these parts of the world. It is known

[1] There is no mention of this expedition led by Pineda, in the account given by Garcilaso de la Vega.

[2] Garcilaso gives the number at 340—cavalry 150, the rest infantry.

[3] Garcilaso gives 4,000 Indians laden with supplies, and materials for buildings, bridges, or vessels, 4,000 head of swine, and a flock of llamas.

to all that many nations have excelled others and made them tributaries, and the few have conquered the many. Thus they say of Alexander the Great that, with thirty-three thousand Macedonians, he undertook to conquer the world. So with the Romans: many of their captains who were sent to make war in the provinces attacked their enemies with so few men that it is ridiculous to think of. And as I now have to describe in my history some examples which reflect praise on my nation, I appeal to what will be written, where the curious can see like myself. I mean that no other race can be found which can penetrate through such rugged lands, such dense forests, such great mountains and deserts, and over such broad rivers, as the Spaniards have done without help from others, solely by the valour of their persons and the forcefulness of their breed. In a period of seventy years they have overcome and opened up another world, greater than the one of which we had knowledge, without bringing with them waggons of provisions, nor great store of baggage, nor tents in which to rest, nor anything but a sword and a shield, and a small bag in which they carried their food. Thus it was that they went forth to explore that which was unknown and never before seen. And this is what I think of the Spaniards, and I esteem them because, until now, no other race or nation has, with such resolution, passed through such labours, or such long periods of starvation, or traversed such long distances as they have.[1] At least I have found none. And in this expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro assuredly very great hardships were experienced.

Having decided to send the Camp-master Don Antonio de Rivera on in front, Gonzalo Pizarro gave orders for him to make straight for the province of *Quijos*. He started at once, and after a few days Gonzalo Pizarro did the same, Cristóbal de Funes going in command of the rear-

[1] True, but it does not follow that no others could.

guard. Don Antonio advanced to a place called *Hatunquijo*. Gonzalo Pizarro followed. At this time, just when the enterprise of Gonzalo Pizarro became known on the coast of Peru, there arrived one Francisco de Orellana, a native of the city of Truxillo, with thirty Spaniards, and he set out to follow Gonzalo Pizarro, who had already left Quito. Gonzalo crossed a range of mountains, where there were snowy alps, and here over a hundred Indian men and women were frozen to death. Though the Spaniards suffered much from the cold, none of them died. From thence they traversed a very rugged country full of rivers, and with forest lands well peopled. They advanced through these dense forests, opening a road with axes and wood knives; and so they marched until they came to the valley of *Zumaque*,[1] which they found well peopled and amply stocked with provisions. It is thirty leagues from Quito. Orellana, as we have said, followed Gonzalo Pizarro over those thirty leagues between Quito and Zumaque, and both he and his followers suffered much from hunger, owing to so many people having passed just before. After several days they reached Zumaque, where Pizarro was with all his party. Pizarro received them with hearty welcome, and appointed this Francisco de Orellana to be his Lieutenant-General. Before he had arrived at Zumaque, Gonzalo Pizarro had ordered his Camp-master Don Antonio to send Orellana some provisions, for he was in much need. Don Antonio told off the captain Sancho de Caravajal to convey the succour of provisions, and so enable Orellana to arrive. Sancho de Caravajal presently started back to meet him, and when Orellana's party saw him they rejoiced at the sight, and still more at the food he brought, of which they were in much need. They all then marched to Zumaque, where the things happened that we have related.

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[1] Garcilaso calls it Sumaco, but Herrera has Zumaque.

After the arrival of Orellana, Gonzalo Pizarro entered into consultation with his principal officers, as to the next step that should be taken. Orellana and his party had arrived very tired. But the rest had been some while at Zumaque and it was time to continue the advance. It was decided that Gonzalo Pizarro should go forward and explore, and that Orellana should follow, after a few days, with the rest of the expedition. Gonzalo Pizarro was only to take seventy Spaniards, without any horses, because the country was so rough and difficult that horses could not be used. Leaving all the horses in the camp at Zumaque Gonzalo Pizarro set out with seventy odd Spaniards, among them being some cross-bow men and arquebusiers. They took a route in the direction of sunrise, having local Indians with them as guides. They started and marched for several days through dense and rugged forest country until they came to where the trees they call *canelos* grow, and which are like big olive-trees, and bear large flowers and pods.[1] This is the cinnamon of the most perfect kind, and of much substance. No other trees like these have been met with in all the regions of the Indies. The natives value them highly, and in all their settlements they trade with this cinnamon. There are some Indians in these forests, and they live in small, badly built huts, apart from each other. They are very brutish and without reason, usually have many wives, and move through these forests so easily that it is astounding to see their agility.

When Gonzalo Pizarro arrived where these *canelos* grow, he took certain Indians as guides and asked where there were valleys and plains with many of these trees yielding cinnamon. The Indians replied that they did not know of

[1] Garcilaso describes this tree as very tall with leaves like a laurel, the fruit growing in clusters, and resembling an acorn. Herrera describes it as like an olive with large pods, the tree attaining a height of thirty feet.

any others than these, and that they had not seen them anywhere else. Gonzalo Pizarro also tried to learn from these Indians the character of the country in front, whether the forests came to an end, and whether he would soon emerge into open country, and well-peopled provinces. They answered again that they knew nothing, because they were so hemmed in by other tribes that, except with a few who lived in the recesses of the forest, they had no truck; adding that the Spaniards might chance, on going forward, to find some Indians of those parts who would travel with them and guide them to where they desired to go. Gonzalo Pizarro was angry that the Indians had given no reply in conformity with what he wanted. Turning to ask them other things, they answered all in the negative. So he ordered some canes to be fixed across poles, like rather thin hurdles, about three feet wide and seven in length, and the Indians to be put on them and tortured until they told the truth. The innocent natives were promptly stretched on these frames or barbecues, by the cruel Spaniards, and some of them were burnt. As they did not understand what the Spaniards said, nor could they see any just cause for being cruelly put to death, they made great outcries and exclaimed with loud and savage voices: "Why do you kill us with so little reason, neither we nor our fathers have ever injured you. Do you want us to tell you what we do not know?" and adding many other pitiful words, until the fire penetrated and consumed their bodies. This butcher of a Gonzalo Pizarro, not content with burning the Indians who had committed no fault, further ordered that other Indians should be thrown to the dogs, who tore them to pieces with their teeth and devoured them. I heard that among those who were thus burnt or devoured, there were some women, which made it worse. After Pizarro had killed these Indians, he desired to get to some part where horses could be used. For the Spaniards, who were

with him, were discouraged at not finding a land such as they wanted to see, and because the Indians did not give them any information. Leaving that place they advanced until they came to a river which formed a small beach of very level sand. Here Gonzalo Pizarro ordered the camp to be pitched for that night, to sleep. It rained so hard near the source of the river that a fresh came suddenly down and, if it had not been for warnings from the sentries, some of the party would have been drowned by the rush of water. Gonzalo Pizarro and those who were with him heard the cries of the sentries and the noise of the waters, and they all rose up, and took to their arms, thinking it was Indians coming to make war against them. Seeing what had happened, they stationed themselves above some wash-outs that were there and, although they used all the speed possible, they lost some of their baggage. As they found themselves driven from the place where they had formed their camp, and saw that there was nothing but ranges of forest-clad and rugged mountains in all directions, they decided to return by the way they came and see if they could not find another track which would lead them in the direction they wanted.

CHAPTER XX

How Gonzalo Pizarro left that river and went on exploring among those forests and hills without finding any large population, and how the whole party joined forces at a crossing over an arm of the Sweet Sea.[1]

GONZALO Pizarro was much distressed at finding that he could not reach any fertile and abundant province, beyond such rough country as he had met with. He deplored, many times, that he had undertaken this ex-

[1] The Sweet Sea (*Mar Dulce*) was another name for the Marañón. The "arm" was the river Napo.

pedition. If he wanted to explore he might have done so from Cuzco with better information, or from further south. But he did not let his followers understand this. On the contrary he gave them all possible encouragement, and it was the advice of all that they should return towards the place whence they had started. On that same day they set out, and returned towards Zumaque, stopping short at a distance of four leagues from the camp. Gonzalo would not go into it, but ordered his party to go direct to the village of *Ampua.* Before reaching there they came to a great river which they could not ford.[1] The Indians had canoes, and seeing some on the banks of the river, the Spaniards called out saying that they came as friends, and that the Indians need have no fear whatever. Their Chief, whose name was *Delicola*, determined to go himself and see what manner of men had invaded his country. So he came over, attended by fifteen or twenty men. When Gonzalo Pizarro saw him, and knew that he was the lord of that river where they were, he rejoiced and received him with much honour, giving him some combs and knives, which they value highly. He asked the Chief whether they knew of any land that was good, and to which the Spaniards could go. Meanwhile the Chief had repented that he had come as a friend, for he now got word of the many Indians put to death by the Spaniards, because they had not given the pleasing news the latter wished. So the Chief determined, though it was a lie, to tell them that there were very great populations further on and very rich regions full of powerful lords. Gonzalo Pizarro and his followers were delighted to hear this, believing it to be all truth. Gonzalo Pizarro ordered that the Spaniards were to watch this native Chief without his knowing it, and look out for him in such a way as that it would be impossible for him to escape. This was done, but the Chief, guessing quite well

[1] The Coca, principal tributary of the Napo.

that he was watched, dissembled and did not show any anxiety. As the river was wide in that part and the canoes were not there, they went on to see whether what this Indian had told them was true or not, until they reached a place where the river became narrow. Here they made a bridge and crossed over by it.

The wild mountaineers, when they knew of the Spaniards being in that country, called many of their people together and, taking up arms, collected on the other side of the river, where they dug trenches and made forts to defend themselves. When Gonzalo Pizarro saw that, he ordered some arquebusiers who were with him to fire off their arquebuses and try to kill some of the natives. They did so, killing six or seven Indians, whereupon the others, seeing the sudden deaths of their companions, began to take to flight with loud yells. Having crossed the river, the Spaniards came to a place where there were no mountains, but low-lying plains, though presently these were seen to be everywhere surrounded by forest. They found few natives and only a small amount of provisions, all the Indians being of one appearance and dress. So Gonzalo Pizarro decided to call up the rest of the Spaniards, who were at Zumaque in the camp that was formed there. Two Spaniards were sent for them and, on their arrival at Zumaque, Don Antonio and the captain Orellana came to join Gonzalo Pizarro at the place whence he had sent the message. When the whole expedition was united, Gonzalo ordered the Camp-master, Don Antonio de Rivera, to advance with some men, and find out what the country looked like further on. Don Antonio set out with fifty Spaniards and marched until he had covered about twenty leagues of upland. Then they came upon a small settlement called *Barco*, and found some provisions. He reported this to Gonzalo Pizarro who proceeded thither with his whole force, the Chief meeting them in a friendly manner, and telling them what was

ahead. The natives were much alarmed at seeing the horses and so many Spaniards. The Chief wanted to plunge into the river and take to flight, but Sancho de Caravajal perceiving this, seized him and brought him before Gonzalo Pizarro, who ordered him to be fastened to a chain, with two other Chiefs who had come as friends. The Chief who, we said, first gave them news of rich provinces was carefully watched, but was not made a prisoner at that time. When the Indians saw that their Chiefs who had come as friends had been put in chains they were indignant, and, taking up arms, they came in forty canoes direct to the place where they had seen their Chief who called to them to protect him. But the Spaniards who saw the canoes coming and heard the shouting, came out with their arms and put the Indians to rout. Then Gonzalo Pizarro ordered Delicola, the Chief who had been a party to raising the natives in arms against him and his followers, to be made fast on the chain with the others.

The Spaniards, seeing that the river they had discovered was very large and must flow down to the Sweet Sea,[1] and reflecting that of all the servants they had brought from Quito not one remained, nor could any be found where they were, the land being so bad, came to the conclusion that the best plan would be to build a craft, on board of which their supplies might go down the river, the horses following by land, in the hope of reaching some region of plenty, for which they all besought Our Lord. Presently they built the vessel with the necessary outfit they had brought with them, and one Juan Alcántara was given charge of her. They shipped as much stuff as she could stow, and the Spaniards with the horses followed down stream, along the bank. They met with some small settlements where they got maize and *yuca*, and they found a quantity of

[1] *Mar dulce*, the Marañón.

guavas which afforded no small help to them in their need. Continuing their journey down the river bank, they sometimes wished to diverge in one direction or another to see what the country was like, but the morasses and other obstacles were so great that they could not, and so they were obliged to keep along the river bank, though with much difficulty, for the creeks in the swamps were so deep that swimming the horses through them was an arduous task. Some Spaniards and horses were drowned. The Indian men and women carrying loads could not cross these swamps on foot, so they looked for some of the canoes which the natives had hidden. When the bad places were narrow they made bridges of trees, and crossed in that manner. In this way they advanced down the river for forty-three marches, and there was not a day when they did not come upon one or two of these creeks, so deep that they were put to the labour we have described, each time. They found little food and no inhabitants, and they began to feel the pangs of hunger, for of the herd of swine they brought from Quito, numbering more than 5,000, all were eaten. At this time the Chief Delicola, who was the first that came in friendly guise, and the other prisoners, for fear the Spaniards would kill them, declared that farther on they would find a rich and well-peopled land. Observing one day that they were less carefully watched, they slipped into the river with their chain, and crossed to the other side, without the Spaniards being able to retake them. The Spaniards thus found themselves without guides for advancing, and they consulted as to what it would be best to do. As the Indians had said that after fifteen marches they would come to another very broad and swift river, down which there were large settlements and very rich Chiefs, also such quantities of food that if there were a thousand Spaniards there would be enough for all, Gonzalo Pizarro ordered the Captain-general Francisco de

Orellana, with seventy men, to go on and see if what the Indians had said was true, and to return with the vessel full of provisions, for they saw the great need there was for food. He himself, with the rest of his force, would march down stream at once, to reach the populous country as soon as possible. For all the Spaniards were in want, and in truth their necessity was dire, so that Orellana must make all speed to bring them relief. He was not to do anything else; wherefore the vessel was entrusted to his care solely, and to no other person. Francisco de Orellana replied that he would use all possible diligence to carry out his orders, that he would bring back provisions as quickly as he could, and that there need be no doubt about that. So he took on board some arms and clothing belonging to Gonzalo Pizarro and others who wished to send them on, and then departed down the river, leaving Gonzalo Pizarro and the other Spaniards longing for his quick return.

CHAPTER XXI

How Francisco de Orellana went down the river until he reached the Ocean Sea, and of the great sufferings of Gonzalo Pizarro and his followers from hunger.

GONZALO PIZARRO, having decided to send Francisco de Orellana in the vessel down the river, ordered him to start at once, and to those who were to travel with him he repeated the instructions he had given to Orellana himself. They therefore proceeded down stream, taking scarcely any provisions with them, and suffered very great hardships, making their way for days without seeing any inhabitant. At the end of that time they met with a few and began to talk of returning, but this seemed an impossible task, for they had traversed more than three hundred leagues.

Orellana, after stating some excuses, continued his way and discovered the very wide river Marañón or "*Mar Dulce*" as some call it, with great provinces and settlements on its banks, so large that they affirm that in passing continuously down stream for two whole days they did not come to the end of the populated district. They had some fights with the Indians, and a few Spaniards were wounded. Father Gaspar de Caravajal lost an eye. They never found gold or silver, but some Indians they captured told them that those metals existed in great quantities in the interior. After passing through still greater hardships they at length arrived at the Ocean Sea, whence Orellana went to Spain; and his Majesty granted him that province with the title of Adelantado.[1] Publishing an account of greater things than he ever saw, he enlisted many people. With them he entered the mouth of the great river and died miserably, all his followers being lost as well.

Let us return to Gonzalo Pizarro who, when he had despatched his lieutenant-general Francisco de Orellana down the river in the vessel, as we have related, determined to push forward from that place as best he could. He had no provisions, nor any knowledge of whither he might be able to go. There was not even any track to follow. The heavens poured down water from their clouds in such quantities that for many days, including nights, the rain never ceased. As for those swamps we have mentioned, the farther the Spaniards went the more of them they encountered. To enable them to proceed and bring along the horses the strongest young men went ahead, opening a road with axes and wood knives, never ceasing to cut through that dense wild in such a way that all the camp could pass and journey eastward. As they were in such

[1] Thus was the mighty river Amazon discovered by this inhuman traitor.

an evil land and might not find any village, they determined to wait and see what the captain Francisco de Orellana could do for them. Meanwhile, not to die of hunger, they ate some remaining horses, and dogs, without wasting any of the entrails, skin, or other parts; for all was food for the Spaniards. At this time they had come in sight of an island in the river; but facing it, on the mainland where the Spaniards had to pass, there were great swamps and bogs which they could not traverse. To arrive at the supposed land of plenty which Orellana might discover down the river, they would have to build boats and big rafts near this island, and these must be well supplied with provisions and fit to receive the remaining horses on board, and everything else: They could then go down the river without danger, and in a short time enter the region where they expected to find settlements so large and well-to-do that the mere mention of them excites astonishment, though we know positively it is truth, and rather under than over stated.

Gonzalo Pizarro, finding himself near this island, and not knowing the kind of road there might be ahead, and considering the want of provisions from which all the Spaniards were suffering, now ordered the captain Alonso de Mercadillo to go down the river with a dozen Spaniards, in some canoes they had, to see if there was any sign of Francisco de Orellana, and to seek for some fruit or roots by which the Spaniards might be sustained. Mercadillo was away for eight days, without finding anything whatever, nor any sign of Indians. Great was the sorrow of Gonzalo Pizarro and his followers when they heard this. It seemed as if they were quite lost, for they had nothing to eat but wild herbs and coarse fruits never before seen or known, and the horses and dogs; and these on so restricted a dole that rather did it whet their hunger than relieve their yearning for food.

As they were in such great straits that there seemed no remedy either by advancing or by going back, Gonzalo Pizarro resolved to send canoes with other persons, to see if any signs of natives or homesteads could be found, where they could get food; for if they delayed much longer they must all inevitably perish. He therefore ordered the captain Gonzalo Díaz de Pineda to go out and make search with some others. They embarked in the canoes and went down stream until they came to another river larger and mightier than the one they had been navigating, the two becoming one. Here they saw cuts made by wood knives and swords, showing that Orellana and his companions had been there. As they were so ravening and wishful to reach some place where there was food, they considered, on seeing such a large river, that it would be well to go up it and see what could be found. After having gone up it for ten leagues, God our Lord was pleased that they should find many very thick patches of *yuca*,[1] so large that the stems that came from their roots looked like a small forest. This *yuca* plantation was due to certain Indians who had previously lived for some years in that locality. Their neighbours, in a war they waged upon them, forced them to retire farther inland into the mountains. Hence these *yucas* they had planted continued to grow and remain there as we have described, and afforded no small relief to the exhausted Spaniards. Those who came in the canoes knew the *yucas* quite well. So they went down on their knees and gave thanks to God our Lord for His great mercy. Then they began to pull them up and load the two canoes, returning with them full to where Gonzalo Pizarro was waiting, where the Spaniards had already given up all hope of escaping with their lives. When they saw the canoes and learnt what they brought,

[1] *Jatropha manihot*, an edible root.

they all wept for joy, saying, "Blessed be the Lord our God who has thus remembered us," while kneeling on the ground, and turning their eyes heavenward; thus giving Him thanks for a mercy which they held to be a very great one.

For twenty-seven days Gonzalo Pizarro had been there with his party, eating nothing but some horse and dog-flesh with herbs and leaves of trees. They had also eaten the saddle and stirrup leathers, boiled in water and afterwards toasted over the ashes. So that we have good reason for saying that this expedition of discovery had to endure great hardships and want. The *yucas* brought in the canoes were divided out, but they did not wait to wash or clean them, and began to eat with the earth still sticking to them. And when they all learnt that the *yuca* plantations were near, they collected all the canoes and fastened them securely together with strong cords to cross to the other side of the river, which was about three cross-bow shots in width. The surviving horses crossed easily, as the current was not strong. Then the people, with what baggage remained to them, were ferried over with much trouble and made their way to the place on the other river where the *yuca* thicket had been found. At that time the fury of their hunger was such that a Spaniard named Villarejo began to eat a root of a white colour and rather thick. He had scarcely tasted it when he lost his reason and became mad. The Spaniards made a very hurried traverse, crossing more creeks and small streams until they arrived at the *yuca* plantation. As all came in an exhausted state, not having eaten anything for so many days, they did nothing but pull up *yucas*, with the earth still sticking to the roots, and began to eat them at once. There they formed a camp, and remained for eight days. The Spaniards were very sick and sore, wan, and wretched, and in such an afflicted condition that it was very sad to look upon them.

CHAPTER XXII

How Gonzalo Pizarro arrived, with his followers, at a place where Indians had formerly settled but had been driven out in a war, and the Spaniards found a very great quantity of yucas, by means of which they were restored to health and their lives were saved; and of the hardships they went through.

HAVING arrived at the *yuca* plantation in the way we have recounted, and seeing that there were abundant roots to sustain them, the Spaniards felt that our Lord had shown them the greatest mercy in the world, and such was their joy that they shed many tears, giving Him thanks. In the days that they were there, the native servants having failed them, they themselves grated the *yucas* by means of very sharp thorns that grow on certain trees in those forests, and made bread of the meal, finding it to be as wholesome as the white rusks of Utrera. Assuredly Gonzalo Pizarro performed great service in this expedition. If he had not afterwards blemished his fame with the name of traitor, his great services should for ever be held in memory. But in this history, being that of the beginning or childhood of the deeds done by the Spaniards in these realms, we shall record the events as they happened, neither failing to mention the evil deeds and atrocities, nor omitting to relate the good works.

Returning to our narrative, the *yucas* which the Spaniards found in this locality, where there is nothing else in those dense and evil forests, were an immense resource.

As the Indians had formerly lived on those flats, and their principal sustenance is *yuca*, they had laid out great plantations of this root, extending for more than forty leagues. But their neighbours having fought with these

natives until they were driven from thence, all that *yuca* harvest remained to enable the Spaniards to restore their well-being with it. At the end of eight days Gonzalo Pizarro ordered that all should depart and travel up stream, to see if God, our Lord, would be pleased to guide the expedition to some good land, or back to that from which they had come. At that plantation two Spaniards died through eating too many *yucas*. Others swelled in such a way that they could not walk on their feet. They were put on the horses, in the saddles, and secured with cords so that they should not fall off, for they had not strength to keep on horseback. Although they complained, they were not helped, for the others said that they were acting like rogues, and that there was nothing the matter with them.

Spaniards went in front of the main body, opening a road through the forest with axes and wood knives. Many had to go barefoot, for they had no *alpargates*[1] nor anything else to put on. They believed that Orellana and the others who went down the river were dead, either from starvation or at the hands of the Indians. Some Spaniards always marched in the rear guard, not allowing any to lag behind, the sick being put on the horses, as we have already said. They marched along the banks for forty leagues, always finding *yuca* plantations; but the horses were so lean and weak that they were of little use. When they had completed those forty leagues they came to a small settlement of natives, but they had no interpreter to ask them what they wanted to know. When the natives saw the Spaniards with horses, they were terrified, got into their canoes, and from thence made signs and brought some of their food for the Spaniards. They pitched it ashore to them in exchange for hawks' bells, combs, and other trifles which the Spaniards always carried

[1] Shoes or sandals used by the Basques, made of grass.

with them. They went on from this place for eight days, exploring the region up stream, and always finding it sparsely settled like the one they had left. After they had travelled for these eight days there were no longer any Indians, nor any track leading in any direction, because the natives from this point used the river as their only road. By signs the natives said that there were no roads and no provisions farther on. When the Spaniards heard this they sought for food from the store the Indians had; as much as each one could carry on his back and on the horses.

Gonzalo Pizarro was very sad. He knew not in what land he was, nor what direction to take to reach Peru or any other part where there were Christians. He took counsel with Don Antonio, Sancho de Caravajal, Villegas, Funes, and Juan de Acosta. Their conclusion was that Gonzalo Díaz de Pineda should be sent out in two canoes strongly lashed together, to explore the river, with Indians to help in working them up stream. He was to go up and try to find a well-peopled locality, and then Gonzalo Pizarro would follow with the whole camp. Gonzalo Díaz presently started in the canoes, taking with him a cross-bow and an arquebus; and Gonzalo Pizarro also set out with the rest. But he was in great anxiety, for the Spaniards were in a very bad state. They had eaten nothing but the *yucas*, and this brought on a flux which wore them out; besides that they all went with bare feet and legs, for they had nothing in the way of shoes, except that a few made a sort of sandal from the leather of the saddles. The road was all through forest, and full of prickly trees: so that their feet got scratched all over, and their legs were constantly pierced by the many thorns. In this condition they went on, nearly dead with hunger, naked and barefooted, covered with sores, opening the road with their swords; while it rained so that on many days they never saw the sun and could not get dry. They cursed themselves many

times for having come to suffer such hardships and privations, which they could well have avoided, Peru being so large and populous a country, where all may obtain relief.

Those who went in the canoe made a signal every night, to show how they went forward, and Gonzalo Pizarro with his followers worked their way through the forest in the laborious manner we have described. So they went on for fifty-six leagues, Pizarro by land and Gonzalo Díaz on the river. They met no natives, and had no food but the *yucas* they brought with them and the insipid wild fruits they found among those mountains. Gonzalo Díaz, who went on the river, reflecting that they had gone fifty leagues without striking anything, was very sad. He thought that Gonzalo Pizarro and all his men must die of hunger, as they could find no inhabited land. One day, at the hour of compline, they encountered a strong current which they were unable to stem, so they jumped ashore. On a trunk of a tree, brought down by the current, they sat pondering over their misery. They were very anxious, thinking that it would be impossible for Gonzalo Pizarro and the others to reach this place, owing to the density of the forest and the large affluents that came to join the river. As they were thus thinking, Don Pedro de Bustamente, who accompanied Gonzalo Díaz, stood up and saw a canoe at a bend of the river near where they were, and in a little while fourteen or fifteen more appeared, there being eight or nine Indians in each canoe with their arms and shields. As soon as they saw the canoes, the captain Gonzalo Díaz got fire from his flint and steel, and with it he lighted the match of the arquebus. Bustamente took the cross-bow, and putting a shaft into it, they held them ready until they saw what the Indians, who came on careless of being about to meet the Spaniards, would do. When they came within range, Gonzalo Díaz pointed the arquebus and hit an Indian in the breast, who presently fell into the

river dead. Bustamente, with the cross-bow, let fly a shaft and hit another in the arm, who very quickly pulled it out and turned to hurl the missile at him who shot it off. Then with loud yells, they hurled many darts and arrows. The two Spaniards as quickly loaded the arquebus again and set the cross-bow. With these they killed two more Indians, and then, laying hold of their swords and shields, they approached the enemy in their canoe.

The Indians, astounded at seeing four of their number dead, began a flight in their canoes down the river. The Spaniards followed, shooting at them with the arquebus. This scared them so that they left the canoes and jumped into the river. The Spaniards took some of the canoes and found food in them of the kind used by the Indians, for which they gave thanks to Our Lord, for it was many days since they had tasted anything but roots and herbs which they found on the banks of the river. These Indians had come from a river which is different from this one, and two of them, with two canoes, had been fishing when they saw the Spaniards and went to give the alarm to their village. So the people of the village came out by a creek which falls into the river, thinking to take or kill the Spaniards. The event turned out as you have heard. Gonzalo Díaz and Bustamente, after they had eaten, cut some crosses on trees near the river with their swords, so that if Gonzalo Pizarro and his people should come that way, they would know that they had been there and gone on. That night they resumed their voyage up the river, and the morning dawned very clear. Casting their eyes towards the south they saw a range of very high mountains, at which they rejoiced greatly for they thought it must be the cordillera of Quito, or that which lies near the cities of Popayán and Cali. In that case the Spaniards would not be lost, for God our Lord would guide them to a Christian land. Presently they found some stones, at a rapid. Never

before had they seen any in the more than 300 leagues that they had traversed. Having gone so far up the river, they determined to go back and see whether Gonzalo Pizarro and his people were coming. Leaving some of the food and canoes, they turned back down the river, and what had taken them eleven days to accomplish in going up, they now covered in a day and a half.

Gonzalo Pizarro continued to advance with his people, suffering terribly from famine, for now they had eaten all the dogs, numbering more than nine hundred, except two: one belonging to Gonzalo Pizarro, and the other to Don Antonio Rivera. They had also eaten most of the horses they had brought. The Spaniards were so tired and worn out, that they could hardly walk, while several died in the forest. Going down the river Gonzalo Díaz heard the noise of people cutting the trees with their swords. Very joyfully he landed at the spot the Spaniards had reached, and they were delighted to see each other. Gonzalo Pizarro was coming with the rearguard, lest any of the Spaniards should drop and be left for dead. When Gonzalo Díaz heard this he got into the canoe again and went to meet him. We cannot describe the joy they felt at seeing each other, for Díaz had believed Pizarro to be already dead.[1] He and Bustamente related to Gonzalo Pizarro how they had come back to seek for him, because in going up the river they had encountered armed Indians, and God had delivered them out of their hands, and given them strength to kill four of them with the arquebus and cross-bow, making them take to flight and abandon their canoes, in which they found some food. They also reported having seen very high mountains and that they believed that they would there find inhabitants, or a road which would lead to a land of Christians. They

[1] Garcilaso omits all mention of this detached expedition of Pineda but Herrera gives a brief account of it.

also said they had found a great beach on the river, covered with stones. Gonzalo Pizarro rejoiced at this news. We will here leave off writing about him, to relate other important things which happened within the Realm.

CHAPTER XXIII

How his Majesty appointed Belalcázar as his Governor, and how he entered upon the government and arrested the Adelantado Andagoya.

IN the first book we mentioned how the captain Sebastián de Belalcázar, being on an expedition of discovery, arrived at the province of Bogotá, called the New Kingdom of Granada, where he found some Spaniards of Santa Marta, who were the first discoverers of those parts. Belalcázar, Fedreman, and the licentiate Jiménez embarked together in one ship, each one desirous that the government of the country should be given to himself. Although each one came to Spain with the intention of applying for it, their hopes were disappointed, for it was granted to Don Alonso de Lugo, Adelantado of the Canaries. When the captain Belalcázar arrived in Spain he found that his Majesty was absent, enjoying his immortal triumphs. It was easy for those who came to Spain to negotiate, in those days, as the lords of the Council favoured captains who approached them to seek posts; and Belalcázar, after he had submitted his report, was given the government of Popayán with the towns of Anzerma, Cartago, Cali, and Neyva, with all the territory as far as the boundaries of San Francisco de Quito. With these grants and favours he left Spain and came to Tierra Firme. At the city of Panamá he embarked in a ship, with those in his company, and landed near the harbour now called Buenaventura; whence he continued his journey to the city of Cali, where news of his coming as Governor had

already arrived. Andagoya worked to obtain friends and interest and resist Belalcázar's entry, and strove for the support of the city magistrates and aldermen. Although they all raised his hopes and made great promises, they desired first to see Belalcázar there before their eyes, and then on his arrival to desert Andagoya and go over to him. For novelties please the people, who are always friends to anything new, and they like to see changes, especially among those who govern.

Many letters, with great promises, came to Belalcázar; and Andagoya, suspecting some persons, arrested them, and prepared to send men into the hill country to block the arrival. After some things had passed which I cannot now recount, and there had been emissaries and proposals, Belalcázar arrived at the city of Cali. There, lest he should have to decide by force who had the best title to govern, he put his men under arms; and Andagoya did likewise with those who supported him. They were almost coming to blows when some monks intervened. It was then agreed that the Governor Belalcázar should present his credentials to the municipality, and if they accepted them he was to be acknowledged as Governor, but if not, then Andagoya was to remain in office. By this time many who were at Cali had gone over to Belalcázar's side. After seeing his credentials the municipal delegates accepted him as Governor, and removed the Adelantado from office. A few days later Andagoya was made a prisoner and taken to the city of Popayán. Belalcázar then wrote to the captain Robledo, and sent Pedro de Ayala to take possession of the cities of Cartago and Anzerma, with orders that the city of Santa Ana, then called San Juan, was to be henceforth styled the town of Anzerma. Pedro de Ayala arrived at Cartago, where the captain Jorge de Robledo distributed what caciques were there, among the conquerors, and for those other Spaniards who received no *repartimiento*

he determined to go and find Indians. So he proceeded from Cartago to the town of Anzerma, whence he wrote letters to Belalcázar, for he knew that certain persons, actuated by envy and malice, were speaking evil of him before Belalcázar and that Belalcázar approved—for he was a man of little knowledge and poor understanding, unable to take the measure of those who came with false or unjust statements. The captain Jorge Robledo, desiring to do what we have said, set out from Anzerma, taking as his ensign the captain Álvaro de Mendoza, a principal knight among those engaged in that campaign, who had served his Majesty for many years. With a hundred Spaniards, horse and foot, they left Anzerma, crossed the great river, and came to the village of *Irra*. Leaving the affairs of that government at this point, we will return to our principal subject, and relate how the licentiate Cristóbal Vaca de Castro was appointed in Spain to be Governor of Peru.

CHAPTER XXIV

How the alcalde Diego Núñez de Mercado arrived in Spain with news of the death of Almagro; how his Majesty deemed that event to be an ill service, and how he appointed the licentiate Cristóbal Vaca de Castro as Judge.

THE *alcalde* Diego Núñez de Mercado, ever the faithful adherent of the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro, left Peru as quickly as possible after his friend was beheaded, and embarked in a ship for Tierra Firme. Thence travelled and sailed until he reached the Court of his Majesty with the news of the battle of Las Salinas and the death of Almagro, and all the other events that had happened in Peru. His knowledge was complete, for he was a third party in all the negotiations and agreements between the two Governors. When the Emperor heard of

the death of Almagro he was much grieved, and held that what had taken place in Peru was detrimental to his service. His Majesty was angry that such a loyal servant and vassal should have been put to death with such cruelty, and ordered the members of his Council to see justice done in the case. Soon afterwards Diego de Alvarado, and also Diego Gutiérrez de los Rios, arrived in Spain. They too related the execution of Almagro, and prayed for justice.

Then Don Alonso Enríquez arrived in Spain with others, who told the story differently; so that the Council of the Indies, in order to get at the truth, nominated the licentiate Cristóbal Vaca de Castro as Judge of Commission, to go out and collect evidence. Some say that Hernando Pizarro obtained this appointment, through the Cardinal Loaysa, that he might have charge of the affairs of the Marquis Pizarro, because he would show himself favourable in that interest. However that may have been, this licentiate was ordered to proceed to Peru to investigate what we have said, and if perchance the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro should die before the Judge's arrival or while he was there, he was to assume the government in the place of the said Marquis. And as some complaints against Dr. Robles, a judge of the Panamá Audience, had reached Spain, it was ordered that the Judge Vaca de Castro should be President of the Panamá Audience so long as he was there, and take steps to call Judge Robles and Dr. Villalobos to account. On leaving that Audience in good order, he was to set out for Peru. Having arrived there, he was to take evidence and make a thorough inquiry into the course of recent events there, and send home a report.

Vaca de Castro accepted the appointment, and had great hopes that, with diligence, he would be able to perform the duties and do good service to his Majesty. As soon as the

appointment of Vaca de Castro was announced in Spain, Diego de Alvarado and others wrote to Diego de Almagro and Juan de Herrada, saying that Dr. Beltrán and other members of the Council had received large presents from the Marquis, whence it must be inferred that Vaca de Castro would not do strict justice there. These letters caused some perturbation in the minds of the men of Chile. Vaca de Castro, as soon as he had received his sailing orders, took leave of the Court and proceeded to San Lucar, where he embarked, with the title of President of the Audience of Panamá. Correspondents were not wanting who informed the Marquis of the appointment of Vaca de Castro, and of the very limited powers he brought with him, telling Pizarro that he need have no mistrust, as the Judge was going out rather to show him a favour, and that he would suffer no dishonour in consequence.

Vaca de Castro sailed across the ocean until he came to Nombre de Dios, whence he proceeded to Panamá, arriving in the middle of January, 1542. It was given out that he came with wide powers and commissions. Arrived at Panamá, he was received as President in the Audience and Royal Chancellery. In the Audience Dr. Robles and Dr. Villalobos were judges. As soon as Vaca de Castro had been received by them as President, he produced a royal commission by which his Majesty ordered him to investigate the judges' proceedings, especially those of Dr. Francisco Robles, who had held office for a long time, and respecting whose acts several complaints had reached Spain. Presently this officer was suspended from duty, and his case was investigated. As Vaca de Castro was anxious to get on to Peru, he handed over the completion of the case to Dr. Villalobos, against whom there was nothing, and to the licentiate Páez de Laserna, who had lately arrived from Spain as a judge. He then arranged for his own departure, and quitted the harbour of Panamá in a galleon belonging

to Dr. Sepúlveda. There went with him Don Pedro Luis Cabrera, and Hernán Mejía, an alderman of the city of Seville. There were also with him Juan de Cáceres, Accountant of Peru, and Sebastián de Merlo, who had been the secretary of that Audience. He sailed for Peru, accompanied by several other ships, on the 18th of March in the year 1542.

CHAPTER XXV

Of what happened in the city of Lima, and how Pedro Alvarez Holguin left the city of Cuzco on an expedition of discovery.

THE coming of Vaca de Castro as Judge was publicly known in Lima through letters that had arrived from Spain; and the men of Chile anxiously awaited the hour of his arrival, when they would seek for justice respecting the putting to death of Don Diego de Almagro. They were in very great need, and the Marquis did nothing to alleviate their condition. There was an estate with some Indians which, it was said, Domingo de la Presa had given or sold to Don Diego.[1] It happened that Domingo de la Presa died at this time, and Francisco Martín de Alcántara, brother of the Marquis, asked for the estate. There were even some words about it, for the Bishop, as was said, also had pretensions. Finally the Marquis took it away from Don Diego and gave it to Francisco Martín. This was assuredly a great injustice, and not in conformity with the position and claims of Don Diego, having regard to his father's services to the King. As maize and other supplies for Don Diego's house, where all the men of Chile boarded, were obtained from this estate, they felt the want so much that it was pitiful to hear what the lad Don Diego said,

[1] Almagro's son.

and how he complained of the harshness with which the Marquis treated him. Juan de Herrada, who had formerly been his father's servant, sought by every means for food to sustain Don Diego and his followers, who had become very poor. It is true that the Marquis, in order to make friends with some of them, sent word to the captains Juan de Sayavedra, Cristóbal de Sotelo, and Francisco de Chaves that he would give them Indian bondsmen whereby they might live in comfort: but they scoffed at a promise of that sort, saying that they would rather die of hunger than receive food at the hands of the Marquis.

In view of the current news of the coming of Vaca de Castro, the men of Chile determined to send Alonso de Montemayor and Juan de Baeza, dressed in mourning, to welcome the Judge at Piura, or wherever they could overtake him, and when they reached him they were to petition for restitution of what they had lost, and punishment of their enemies for the treason of having killed the Adelantado. Some there were who said that Juan de Herrada and young Almagro conspired together to find out the intentions of Vaca de Castro, and, if these were not in agreement with what they expected and believed, to kill him and seize all the arms he might have with him. This is the story told by the Pachacama party, but at that time no such plot to murder Vaca de Castro was in being or even discussed among them, nor did they send the deputies for any other purpose than to acquaint him with the course of events, and also to learn, perchance, whether he came with intent to favour the Marquis and not to do full justice to them. If so, they would prepare to arm and, with some friends, they would defend themselves against any one who should wish to annoy them. Presently those two set out to do what we have stated. When the Marquis heard of the approach of Vaca de Castro, he sent a chamberlain named Alonso de Cabrera to receive him, and to see the

lodgings prepared for him, where he was to rest on the road. Although the Marquis felt sore at the coming of Vaca de Castro, he prudently dissembled, and gave out that he was pleased at his arrival. At this time Pedro Alvarez Holguin had gone on an expedition of discovery with a small force, in the direction of the Chunchos. Don Pedro de Puertocarrero was then lieutenant for the Governor at Cuzco. Captain Pedro Anzures was in the town of Plata, where many gentlemen of rank had settled; and had instituted good order among the Indians in those provinces. Those who would not acknowledge their subjection, nor render obedience to his Majesty, were punished and forced to submit. In the other towns and new settlements the same care was observed. In Lima, as well as in all the other cities of the Realm, a great quantity of wheat and barley was raised.

Now the Marquis was guided by the counsels of his secretary Antonio Picado, who was not a man of constancy or prudence. It would have been well to lead the Marquis towards a policy of conciliation, which would have attracted friends; but Picado did just the reverse. He said many ugly things of the men of Chile, and it was through his scheming that the farm was taken from the lad Don Diego and given over to Francisco Martín. To insult the men of Chile, Picado one day put on embroidered clothes enriched with many gold figs,[1] and went in that garb to the quarters of young Diego. There he made his horse plunge and caper about to the bodily danger of those present, as if with intent to knock them over. Those of Chile felt hurt and insulted when they saw this, deploring that their misfortunes and ill-luck were such that Picado could come thus and triumph over them. From that time their suspicions grew, and they were

[1] Others say a cap with a gold medal having a silver fig embossed upon it, and a motto—"For the men of Chile."

in dread lest the Marquis should kill or banish them, so they sought for arms to defend themselves. The Marquis was informed of this, and he was counselled by his friends to keep people about him to guard his person, that he might not be murdered on a sudden. But he would not take their advice; on the contrary, he went out of his house every day alone. He went to a place where a mill was being built, where the men of Chile might have killed him many times, if they had cared to station themselves there.

CHAPTER XXVI

Of what happened to the President Vaca de Castro, after he left the city of Panamá to go to Peru.

AFTER leaving Panamá all went well in the vessel on board of which Vaca de Castro and his friends had embarked, and the vessels accompanying her, until they came to a rocky islet called by the sailors "*Mal Pelo.*" Thence they sailed along the coast until they sighted the Island of *La Gorgona*, which is near the river of San Juan. After that the winds were contrary, and the rains frequent. Then the sea became tempestuous, bearing on its waves the vessels that had come from Panamá. After some days they sighted the Island of *El Gallo*, whither the pilot and captain ordered the sailors to steer, as they wished to renew their supply of water. Pedro Luis Cabrera, Hernán Mejía and some others landed. While they were on shore, the hawser which secured the vessel carried away, and those who had gone on shore were only got on board again with great difficulty. At length they were able to continue the voyage, and arrived at the *Ancón de Sardinas.* On the night of their arrival there arose a furious gale, insomuch that they thought they were lost. All the vessels put to sea, but when daylight came the galleon was alone, no

other vessel being in sight. When the pilot saw this he wanted to return to Ancón de Sardinas, but was unable to, as the vessel had drifted too far to leeward. Night coming on, and being near the land, the pilot anchored the vessel with good cables so as to ride through the night without drifting, with the contrary wind, from the place into which they had come. But after a short time a sailor cried out that they were driving on shore. They slipped the anchor and stood out to sea under the foresail, so, in spite of the efforts of the pilot, they were unable to hold their own. They ran for the island of El Gallo, where they found a ship at anchor. They believed she was one of those which had started with them; but it was not so, she had come from Nicaragua.

Vaca de Castro ordered Merlo to go to that vessel in the boat, and to require those in command on board to come and appear before him. There came one named Pedro Orejón, who was married to a daughter of the Governor Rodrigo de Contreras, and another named Juan de Quiñones, a settler in the city of León. As soon as they learnt that Vaca de Castro was on board the galleon they came to pay their respects. He asked them to keep him company, as he had lost touch with the vessels which left Panamá with him. They answered that they would do so. So they got up their anchors and left that place, to sail on along the coast. But although they used all their skill to gain southing they could not do so, by reason of the adverse weather which would in no wise allow them to proceed. When Vaca de Castro saw how difficult it was to make way against the contrary winds, and reflected how desirable it was to reach his destination speedily, to prevent trouble between the respective parties of Chile and of Pachacama, he consulted with those on board. They agreed that, as the contrary winds were so persistent, and there was a deficiency of cables and gear, it would be better to make for the port of Buenaventura, whence they could march to

the city of Cali, where they would find all the outfit necessary for a journey to Peru. Vaca de Castro and those on board both the vessels having come to this decision they steered for the Isle of Palms. No one on board either ship knew the port of Buenaventura, it being situated between rivers, with very dense forests on either side; so that to make no mistake it is necessary to know it well. I myself, having once gone to Panamá to negotiate certain business with the Royal Chancellery, returned to the province by way of this port. Though I had a pilot with me, named Martín Hernández, who had been there twice before, we missed our mark and thought we had lost ourselves, because one has to enter by two or three branches of the rivers to get into the one by which vessels are brought up to the port by the tide. We were eleven days in those rivers seeking for the port and never able to find it; nor should we have got there at all, if it had not been for a skipper who was coming out in a small vessel on a fishing cruise. He piloted us into the branch of the river which leads to Buenaventura. I mention this because Vaca de Castro had much trouble in finding the port, as there is much risk in trying to enter, for those who have never seen it before.

Having arrived at the Isle of Palms they were very puzzled over the means to be adopted for finding the port. They found an inscription cut in large letters on a rock in the island, to the following effect: *Whoever comes in search of the port of Buenaventura should sail for six leagues to the west, and on the beach at which he will arrive he will see a large cross, and on digging at the foot of it will find a calabash containing a letter which tells where the port is.* They were all much pleased at finding this writing, and Vaca de Castro ordered a sailor who understood navigation to go in the boat and seek for the letter at the cross, for then they could not possibly go wrong. He ordered Merlo to go with him in the boat. They started, and presently arrived where the

letters on the rock directed They found the cross cut down by the coast Indians, but, after a diligent search, could not find the letter. As the cross had been cut down, they decided to go towards a bay or roadstead that the coast forms. They wandered about for eight days without being able to find anything, nor any sign of a port. After those eight days the boat returned to the galleon, where the crew had suffered much from hunger, and must have succumbed if it had not been for the Nicaraguan ship which supplied them out of the stores she had brought.

CHAPTER XXVII

How the President Vaca de Castro was in great need and danger from being unable to find the port of Buenaventura; and how, at the end of some days during which they were seeking the port, they sighted a ship in which there came Don Juan de Andagoya, who told them where the port was.

GREAT was the disappointment of those on board the ships when the boat's crew who had gone in search of the cross and the letter supposed to be deposited there reported their non-success. Vaca de Castro was very worried and depressed. He ordered another pilot to take the boat and some sailors, and see whether peradventure they could find the port, for the want of provisions was now such that with even but a little more delay, the danger would become very serious. So the pilot and boat's crew started a second time to seek for the port, with a limit of eight days within which to go and return. Although they went along coast-wise, and entered several rivers that came down from the mountains into the sea, they could find no sign nor trace of a port, nor anything that might guide them. Being on the point of returning to the Isle of Palms, that Vaca de Castro might go back to Panamá by reason of the failure of provisions, they sighted two sails coming along the coast,

steering towards where the boat then was. They saw them anchor, and stow their sails, and the strangers then made towards them in their boats, for they were in the same predicament as themselves, as they had come from Nicaragua, and their pilots, having never been at Buenaventura, did not know the way to the port. They thought that those in the boat they had sighted would be able to guide them in the right direction. When the two parties heard from each other what they were after, they were greatly depressed. They agreed to make for that bay again, with all three boats, and see if they could find the port from thence. That night a great tempest arose, and they thought they must perish.

Meanwhile Vaca de Castro and the crews of the ships suffered much from want of food; when the boats were about to return, there came in sight a ship which had just left the port of Buenaventura. On board of her was Don Juan de Andagoya, son of the Adelantado Don Pascual de Andagoya. He was in search of the captain Cristóbal de Peñas,[1] and was coming to seek an order from the Royal Audience of Panamá to the Adelantado Sebastián de Belalcázar to allow his father, who was held a prisoner, to depart freely whither he chose. When Don Juan came out of the mouth of the river and saw the other vessels, he got into the ship's boat and went to see who they were and what they wanted. There was a heavy sea, Don Juan lost the rudder, and if they had not come to his help he would have perished. When they heard from Don Juan that the port of Buenaventura was near, they were delighted, and hastened to carry the good news to where the President was. They told Don Juan there was no need for

[1] This should be Alonso de Peña, brother-in-law of Pascual de Andagoya. When Andagoya left Panamá to take possession of his government, he sent Peña to Santo Domingo, to collect more troops, horses, and stores. See my translation of Andagoya's narrative, Introduction, p. xxvi (*Hakluyt Society's vol.* 34, *for* 1865).

him to go to Panamá, for that Vaca de Castro, who was hard by, was himself President of the Audience of Panamá, and could liberate Don Juan's father and compensate him for the injury done him. When Don Juan heard this he rejoiced, believing that since Vaca de Castro came with such very full and ample powers from his Majesty, as was stated, they would be most useful in the cause of the Adelantado his father, and in freeing him from the clutches of Belalcázar. So telling the boat's crews they must go up the river down which he had come, and that they would then quickly arrive at the port they sought, Don Juan, with his vessel, went on to the Isle of Palms, where he found the President. Vaca de Castro gave Don Juan a warrant, under his signature, by which Belalcázar was to release Andagoya from the prison in which he was confined. Vaca de Castro duly arrived at the port of Buenaventura,[1] whence he sent his secretary Merlo to notify to Belalcázar the order for the release of Andagoya, and to let him know that Vaca de Castro was coming to the kingdom of Peru by his Majesty's command. Here we will leave him and relate what happened at the city of the Kings.

CHAPTER XXVIII

How the news arrived at Lima that Vaca de Castro had reached the river of San Juan, how this was received by those of Chile, and what else happened at that time in the city of the Kings.

WHEN the President Vaca de Castro sailed from Panamá, several ships went in company with him, as I have already related. At the Ancón de Sardinas some

[1] Buenaventura, the port of Cali, was founded by Juan Ladrillo, under orders from the Adelantado Pascual de Andagoya, who had received the government of the coast thence to Panamá. The municipality of Cali ordered that six or seven settlers should reside there to arrange for the landing of merchandize and its transmission across the mountains to Cali. The pilots with Vaca de Castro certainly

were lost in a storm. The galleon bore up for Buenaventura, but others, being smaller and better sailers, were able to make southing and reach the port of Lima. There they passed the news that the President was coming by sea, but had encountered terrible weather, and they did not know whether he was lost or had returned to Panamá, or had put into the port of Buenaventura. At this news, the Marquis and those of his party were not a little pleased. But those of Chile, when they heard it, complained of their bad luck. For they were hopefully expecting him to arrive at an early date and make amends for the injustice that had been done in killing [the Adelantado] Don Diego [de Almagro], and in not giving them any *repartimientos*, notwithstanding they had done good service and made discoveries in that land. They went about very sad and downcast. They were reduced to great straits, for between ten or twelve of them there was but one cloak, which they went out in by turns. The citizens of Lima were so indifferent that, though they saw them almost dying of hunger, they did not help them with a single thing, nor would they, even in their own homes, offer them any food.

When St. John's Day drew near, the citizens rode out on horseback to make merry, but a very bad prognostic happened. It was this: Antonio Picado[1] took up behind him on his horse a half-witted fellow, who at the time was in Lima, named Juan de Lepe. He had scarcely mounted when Lepe cried out, "This is the justice that is ordered to be done this man." When the men of Chile heard it they rejoiced, saying that they hoped the utterance of that ninny would prove to be a prophecy, and that they would be avenged of their enemies by such words as those coming true.

showed great want of intelligence in not being able to find it (see *Cieza de León*, p. 105, *Hakluyt Society's vol.* 33, *for* 1864).

[1] The Marquis Pizarro's secretary.

People want to say that at this time the men of Chile, seeing themselves so overlooked, and that no judge before whom they could state their grievances had come, were conspiring among themselves to murder the Marquis, and that this very St. John's Day was the time selected. It is further said that the good cavalier Cristóbal de Sotelo prevented it, saying that it was not desirable to do such an act then. It is also said that the Marquis had resolved to banish Don Diego[1] and Juan de Herrada,[2] and to execute justice on those who were seen to go about fomenting strife. Well! neither the one story nor the other is true. It is well known to those who lived at that time that the Marquis often went to a mill which he had ordered to be built on the banks of the river that flows by the city, accompanied only by an unarmed page. Being thus unguarded, it would have been easy for assassins to kill him if they had wanted to do so. Although some men talked of avenging the death of Almagro, it had not then been determined to murder the Marquis. Neither can we believe, nor would it be fair to affirm, that the Marquis intended to banish them, or to put anyone to death; for we know that many of his friends advised him to adopt such measures, and that he told them such a thing would never be done by him, because it would at once be said that he did so that there might be no one to plead in the *residencia*.[3] In

[1] Son of the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro, usually known as "El mozo" (the lad). He was a half-caste, by an Indian woman of Panamá.

[2] Juan de Herrada was an able soldier, a servant of the old Almagro, and devoted to the interests of his son.

[3] At the expiration of the term of all Spanish governors and judges a "Juez de Residencia" was appointed to examine into their conduct, and receive complaints and representations from those whom they had governed or judged. This was called a *residencia*. Solórzano points out many evils in the working of the system (*Política Indiana*, Lib. v, cap. 10, pp. 836-849). Vaca de Castro, however, was not sent out with powers to terminate the rule of the Marquis. He was to receive evidence, and report to the Home Government. If the Marquis was dead when Vaca de Castro arrived, then the latter was to succeed as Governor.

the city there was some commotion, accompanied by profound silence on the part of the Indians, who said that the Marquis's last day was at hand, when he would be murdered by the men of Chile. The same was common talk in the market-places, and some Indian women repeated it to Spaniards who were their house-masters. It is also said that the favourite, Garcí Díaz, heard it from an Indian girl and warned the Marquis about it. But Pizarro laughed, and said that no attention should be paid to such Indian gossip. After some further discussion respecting these rumours, the Marquis ordered the Bishop to have Juan de Herrada fetched, and to bring him before him on the same St. John's Day, in the afternoon. Four or five days before this, Juan de Herrada heard that the Marquis was collecting arms, and intended to seize the men of Chile or banish them, or kill certain of them, but he concealed what he had heard. He consulted with Cristóbal de Sotelo, Francisco de Chaves, and others of their party, and they determined to purchase arms, and if the Marquis wanted to kill or take them, to unite together and kill him first, if they could. Presently Juan de Herrada bought a coat of mail, in which he always went about. The party also got some lances, and other weapons which they kept concealed about them. Don Diego went out better attended than the Marquis himself. Juan de Herrada also, when he walked abroad, was followed by twenty or thirty men ready for anything that might happen. The Marquis was told that the men of Chile carried arms, went about in parties, and were plotting to kill him. Hearing this, he told the Bishop elect of Quito to send for Juan de Herrada. Don Juan was somewhat disturbed on learning that he had been sent for, and the men of Chile wanted to accompany him, but he decided to go alone. When they realized this they were in a state of confusion until he returned. They kept their arms ready to hand waiting for the result, because some of

them thought that the Marquis would arrest him; since with what other object, forsooth, could he have been sent for?

Arriving where the Marquis was, Juan de Herrada found him in a garden looking at some orange trees he had planted there. On knocking at the door it was opened, and as he came in the Marquis turned to him, and said "Who are you?" Juan de Herrada answered: "How is it that you do not know me? I am Juan de Herrada!" The Marquis then said, "What is this, Juan de Herrada, that they tell me, that you are buying arms and preparing armour with the intention of murdering me?" Juan de Herrada answered, "It is true, my lord, that I have bought two pair of breastplates and a coat of mail for defending my own person." The Marquis then asked, "What reason has moved you to buy arms now more than at any other time?" Juan de Herrada replied, "Because they tell us—and it is the public talk—that your Lordship is collecting lances to kill us all!" He went on: "Well! let us make an end of it now, and your Lordship can deal with us as you please, for, having begun with the head, I know not why the feet should call for respect. They also say that your Lordship means to kill the Judge; but if you think of killing the men of Chile, do not so! Banish Don Diego in a ship, for he is innocent of any fault, and let me go with him wherever chance may strand us." The Marquis, with an angry countenance, then exclaimed: "Who has made you believe in such a great evil and treason as this? For I have never thought of such a thing. I desire more to see the Judge here than you can do. Diego de Mora has written to me that he had arrived at the river of San Juan, and the masters of ships who have come here bring the same news. As he did not care to embark in my galleon he is not here. As to the arms that you say I am getting, the other day I went out hunting, and I found that my servants had not a lance among them. I told them to get one, and they bought four. I pray to God, Juan de

Herrada, that the Judge may come; and may God help us to the truth, and let these things come to an end."

Juan de Herrada's heart was in some degree softened by what the Marquis had said to him, and he answered, "*Por Dios*, my Lord, they have made me spend 500 *pesos* and more in purchasing arms,[1] and I got myself a coat of mail, so that I may have protection if anyone comes to kill me." The Marquis, showing more friendliness, said, "God forbid that I should be guilty of such great cruelty!" Juan de Herrada took off his cap and was about to depart, and as he went a fool who was there, named Valdesillo, said to the Marquis, "Why don't you give some of those oranges to Juan de Herrada?" The Marquis answered, "*Por Dios*, thou sayest well, for I had not thought of it." Then the Marquis, with his own hand, plucked half a dozen oranges from the tree, being the first that were borne in that country, and gave them to Juan de Herrada. That worthy then departed to his lodgings, and on the road he met over thirty of the men of Chile, who had come out to look for him. They were very glad to meet him, and asked what had happened between him and the Marquis. He told them all that had taken place. Don Diego was very anxious at the delay in Herrada's return, and was delighted when he saw him coming, so that he went forward to embrace him; while Herrada related to him and the rest of them all that had been said between himself and the Marquis.[2]

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[1] So that the statement that they were starving appears false.

[2] This very interesting interview between the Marquis Pizarro and his murderer is also given by Zarate and Gómara. Garcilaso de la Vega copied from them. Prescott does not mention it; but Sir Arthur Helps (iv, 136-137) gives a full account of this extraordinary conversation. It is certainly worth preserving. Pizarro must have repeated it to his friend the Bishop elect of Quito, immediately after it took place, and the Bishop was one of Cieza de León's most valued authorities.

CHAPTER XXIX

How the men of Chile plotted to murder the Marquis, and how one of them named Francisco de Herencia gave notice of it at confession. Of the great heedlessness of the Marquis, and of what further happened until those of Chile went out to kill him.

HAPPY should I be if I could get through some part of my story without having to relate mournful things and cruel deaths, but we cannot make the pen shun or turn back from the work we have commenced; for my writing is not to please the living, but to be a faithful witness of what happened, for future ages. Now I have to tell the story of the death of the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, a fate in no way fitted for a man of such great merits—and who had served his royal master so long in those Indies, and who in his own person had discovered so great, rich, and prosperous a country as Peru is; where such great riches of gold and silver, unequalled in any other part of the world, have been found. But there was the death of the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro, which he could have prevented if he had so willed.[1]

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[1] Prescott concurs in thus fixing the blame for the death of Almagro. Sir Arthur Helps does not. The evidence of the Bishop of Quito, who was with the Governor, is conclusive that Pizarro had no knowledge of the intention of his brother to put Almagro to death, until he reached Abancay, when it was too late.

My own conviction is that Hernando Pizarro had no such intention, but that he was going to deliver Almagro to his old friend Don Francisco Pizarro, to deal with him as he thought best. But when he discovered the dangerous plot to assassinate himself and liberate Almagro, he was convinced of the necessity of passing the death sentence on the old Adelantado. He had no doubt whatever of its justice. It was quite in keeping with Hernando's stern and self-reliant character that he should take the responsibility solely on himself. He knew that his brother would not consent, yet he believed that it was a political necessity. Don Francisco Pizarro must thus be entirely exonerated from any responsibility for the execution of Almagro, whatever Cieza de León may assert on evidence derived from unauthentic gossip. The Bishop of Quito completely refutes him.

The festival of St. John being past, Juan de Herrada conversed in secret with Don Diego. He spoke of the arrival of Vaca de Castro, and declared that he came out from Spain suborned with money sent by the Marquis. Even if that were not so, he suspected that the Marquis wanted to kill them; so that, to deliver himself from the one and the other, he resolved to anticipate and murder the Marquis first, and thus avenge the death of the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro. Don Diego was very young—a virtuous youth and one of great pretensions and ambition, considering that he came of such humble parentage. He had a heart capable of undertaking any great deed, but he was so boyish that he was not adapted for personally ruling over people, nor to command a troop. He replied to Herrada that before deciding upon anything he should consider well what there was to be done. On the same day many of those belonging to his party consulted together, and the upshot was that they would murder the Marquis in any way they could. The captain Cristóbal de Sotelo was opposed to this decision, saying that nothing should be done until the arrival of the Judge. He argued that although it was publicly announced that he was coming with nothing beyond his commission, he might secretly have other more extensive powers. Should he not do rightful justice, but lean to the side of the Marquis, they might both be killed. Owing to what Sotelo said, they put off, for the time being, doing that on which they had resolved.

After the consultation one of those who were present named Francisco de Herencia, told it all, at confession, to a priest named Henao. This priest saw that it would be a great evil to the kingdom and its inhabitants if the Marquis should die in that manner, that God and his Majesty would be ill served, that terrible disorder would ensue among the Spaniards, and that a still worse civil war would be the consequence. He determined to avert these evils by appris-

ing the Marquis, who was going that evening to sup at the house of his brother Francisco Martín de Alcántara, with his children. Before he went there he, with Antonio Picado, his secretary, called at the house of Doctor Juan Blázquez, his lieutenant. Pizarro desired him to be watchful, as there was a report that the men of Chile were intending to rise, and even talked of killing him. He added that those persons must be brought to book, and that occasion should be taken for administering justice. The doctor replied that while the wand of justice was in his hands the Marquis might sleep in peace, and not imagine that any one would move to do him a disservice. After this the Marquis went to the house of his brother. Soon afterwards the secretary, Antonio Picado, came to the room with blanched features, bringing a man who would not come forward, as he did not wish to be recognized. Stepping up to the Marquis, Picado asked him to get up, as that man was the priest Henao, and came to warn him that the men of Chile intended to murder him. The Marquis got up, and went across to Henao and heard from him all that he had to tell. He replied that someone, in the hope that his warning would obtain for him a present of a horse or other reward, had related the story, but that it was all Indian gossip. The priest protested, saying that he stood by what he had done, and declared that he could not be so remiss as to be mistaken in so momentous a matter. The Marquis returned to the table very pensive, and did not eat any more. After a short time he returned to his house, and Antonio Picado went to his, to dance with a girl friend he had there. This was wrong, for if he had given notice of what had passed, and of the suspicion there was, to the friends of the Marquis, it might have been that the murder would have been prevented. Yet if it was a Divine judgment, as we must believe, no human effort could have averted it.

The Marquis lay down on his bed, thinking over what Henao had told him. On that night the Licentiate Caravajal got word of the plots of the men of Chile, and sent for Juan de Herrada, telling him that he must be on his guard not to do anything which would cause more trouble. Herrada answered, with dissimulation, that nothing was contemplated that would be injurious to the Marquis, for they awaited the arrival of the Judge, believing that he would administer justice. The Licentiate, though Juan de Herrada had justified himself, sent to advise the Marquis that he had better go out well accompanied, and cherish that distrust of the men of Chile that their doings merited.

CHAPTER XXX

How the men of Chile came forth from the lodging of Don Diego de Almagro, of the death they inflicted on the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, and of the valorous spirit he showed before his death.

THERE was much perturbation among the men of Chile when they learnt that the Marquis had suspicions of their secret plotting. They did not know whether any of those whom they reckoned as friends, to curry favour with the Marquis and obtain his goodwill, had betrayed them; and their consultations did not cease. Some were for sallying out to murder the Marquis; others for retiring to the Indians' villages until the Judge should arrive. Others said that the Marquis suspected them, and that he was seeking some pretext for putting them to a cruel death. Juan de Herrada told them to bring all their arms, and that when the time came he would tell them what to do. The Marquis was in his house in bed, and before he got up a page came to him, and said, "Sir, all the town says, and it is publicly discussed among the Indians, that the men of Chile will come this morning to

murder you!" The Marquis replied very angrily, "Be off, you silly boy!"[1]

I am perfectly astounded, and with very good reason, at the little care and great remissness of the Marquis. He is told that they are coming to murder him in the morning, and he treats it as a joke, as if there were nothing in it. When I think of past events in those kingdoms, as those who may read my books will see, I am astonished, and it seems to me that God, for the sins of the Marquis, weakened his understanding, and willed that he should die a death so cruel as the one he did. I will say that one of the causes that have given rise to troubles and dissensions in this Empire of the Indies, has been the promotion by his Majesty and the high Council of the Indies of illiterate men to the government of provinces, many without the tact or prestige needful for the administration of justice. In ancient times the Romans, who ruled the whole world with their wisdom, did not, on any account, give charge of a government to those who were not learned or acquainted with the laws; for he who has to govern, if he be not prudent, is apt to count everything as nought. I have wished to say this because if the Marquis had been as wise as he was valiant, and as well educated as he was resolute, he would have paid careful attention to the reports that were brought to him, and have known that ten determined men may succeed in an undertaking, although it may require great intrepidity. We read how Philip, King of Macedon, being in his palace, surrounded by his knights and attendants, was stabbed by a principal noble named Pausanias because, in a certain case, he would not do justice. So one can see that, although Philip believed that his death was in question, and had himself guarded in a

[1] Or, according to another account—"That is not business for a boy."

manner different from the Marquis, yet it happened after all. He knew that the oracle of Apollo at Delphi had given a reply, through the devil, that he would die by reason of a cart, so he gave an order, that throughout his kingdom there should be no waggon or cart, and no vehicle having that name was to be seen in any town in his dominions. In spite of all this care there was a cart engraved upon the sword with which Pausanias killed him. The great Julius Caesar, who ruled the larger part of the world, and had a guard of ten thousand men, was well beloved by all the Roman soldiery, and had the cohorts and urban and pretorian legions on his side; yet was he not murdered in a temple by Brutus, Cassius, and about thirty more, who gave him twenty-three stabs? Besides these, many princes and great lords have been murdered by the hand of some audacious man. These things are certain. How, then, could the Marquis think he was secure and that they were not conspiring to kill him? By my faith! I believe his sins blinded him, and God permitted it, for He wills that His justice shall be clear, and at certain times and in some cases manifests it to men.

The next day, which was Sunday, the Marquis was spoken to again about the men of Chile being watched, because it was said that they intended to murder him on that very day. Very lukewarmly he told the Doctor Juan Blázquez to arrest the principals among them, and to take precautions. Some want to say that the priest Domingo Ruiz, and Perucho de Aguirre, told this to Juan de Herrada. The Doctor having come to the Marquis, declared that while he held the wand in his hand, the Marquis might rest assured that he would receive no annoyance nor disservice, and that, for his part, he would see to it that the informations were made out that same day. Having said this, the doctor and all the rest who were present went to hear mass.

Those of Chile being assembled in the lodging of Don Diego, one of them named San Millán came in panting for breath and much excited and went up to Juan de Herrada, who had no intention then of carrying out their design on that day. He said, "What are you doing, when in two hours we shall all be quartered? The Treasurer Alonso de Riquelme has told me this." This was a lie, for the Treasurer had said nothing. San Millán invented it, to drive Juan de Herrada into immediate action. The latter rose from his couch, picked up his arms, and there joined in with him the following company:

Juan de Herrada.

Martín de Bilbao.[1]	Porras (of Ciudad-Rodrigo).
Baltasar Gómez.[1]	Pedro Cabezas.[1]
Diego de Hoces.[1]	Velázquez.
Juan de Guzmán.[1]	Bartolomé de Enciso.
Pedro de San Millán.[1]	Arbolancha[1] (*killed Chaves*).
Juan Sajo (Navarrese).	Jerónimo de Almagro.[1]
Narváez (*killed by Pizarro*).	Enrique Losa.[1]
Francisco Núñez (of Granada), *deserted them.*	Pineda (Page to Almagro).
Juan Rodríguez Barragán.[1]	Diego Méndez (*murderer of the Inca Manco*).

[1] Of these murderers Juan de Herrada died a natural death. Martín de Bilbao and Jerónimo de Almagro were killed at the battle of Chupas. Arbolancha (the murderer of Chaves), Barragán, Cabezas, Gómez, Guzmán, Hoces, Losa, were hanged; Narváez was killed by Pizarro. Méndez escaped to the Inca and murdered him, finally getting his deserts. The fate of the others is unknown.

Both Prescott and Helps repeat a story told by Montesinos that one of the conspirators, when they were rushing across the *plaza*, ran round a pool of water instead of going through it, to avoid getting wet. Herrada told him, as he was so particular, he must go back. Montesinos is a late and not at all a reliable authority, and the story need not be believed. It never rains, and there never are pools of water in the *plaza* of Lima. The name of Gómez Pérez is given, one of the villains who murdered the Inca Manco and got their deserts.

It is to be observed that none of Almagro's old captains had anything to do with the murder, except perhaps Chaves, although they were violently antagonistic to the Marquis and were in Lima. They were not murderers. Only one threw in his lot with young Almagro.

United and brave, these men came forth publicly and openly determined to murder the Marquis or perish in the attempt, believing that he intended to execute justice upon them on that very day.

They told off Pedro Picón,[1] a native of Mérida, and Marchena, and Francisco de Chaves to station themselves in the *plaza*, mounted on horseback. The warlike youth García de Alvarado y Sosa,[2] Martín Carrillo,[1] Peces, Martel,[1] Francisco Coronado[1] of Badajoz, Juan Asturiano, Pedro Navarro, Diego Becerra,[3] and Juan Diente[1] were also in the plot. These were to be on the watch and help the party when they came out. Before the latter started they sent a spy to find out what the Doctor was doing, and how many people had gone to the house of the Marquis, for they already knew that he had not gone to mass. It is even said that the Doctor sent a spy, and that when he entered they all hid themselves inside so that he could not see them. Then, as Montenegro, a resident of Lima, was passing, they hustled him inside by force. He found out what they wanted to do and tried to hinder them, but his words had no effect.

CHAPTER XXXI

In which what happened is concluded down to the time when the Marquis Pizarro was murdered by the men of Chile.

ALL those I have mentioned being assembled in the quarters of Don Diego, Juan de Herrada said: "Look ye, Sirs! that if we show determination and contrive to kill the Marquis, we avenge the death of the Adelantado and secure the reward that our services done to the King

[1] Hanged.
[2] No relation to the other Alvarados.
[3] Deserted at Chupas.

in this land merit, and if we do not go forward with our intention, our heads will be set on the gallows which stand in the *plaza*. But let each one choose the course he prefers in this business." They all answered in conformity with his wishes, and so they all went forth from the place where they were assembled, armed with coats of mail, breast-plates, halberds, two cross-bows, and one arquebus, shouting in loud voices: "Long live the King! Death to tyrants!" García de Alvarado, with those I have mentioned, went out by another street on horseback to support them. Those of Chile took their way to the house of the Marquis along the city streets towards the *plaza*. Only nineteen in number they passed through more than a thousand people, and although these heard the shouts of the murderers, by some secret judgment of God, they did not interfere. They

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THE PLAN OF LIMA

The seat of Pizarro's government was first at Jauja, in the mountains; but this being found inconvenient it was removed to the coast plains, where Lima still stands, and a scheme for laying out the city in square allotments was adopted. It provided for 117 such squares, known as *manzanas*, each side or *cuadra* of which measured 147 *varas* or Spanish yards, or, according to Cobo, 450 *pies* or Spanish feet. The roadway between each square and the next was 40 *pies* in width. The *Plaza mayor* with its adjoining roadway was left vacant, for public use; and Cieza tells us that a gibbet was erected in the middle of it. Every *manzana* was subdivided into four equal portions called *solares*, or sites; and the central group of these was allotted or taken up when the city was founded, in 1535, in the manner stated hereunder (*cf.* the Plan opposite, and *vide* the Introduction, pp. xxxviii-xxxix).

1, 2, 3, 4, the Marqués Pizarro.
5, 7, Alonso Riquelme.
8, Antonio Ricado.
9, 10, García de Salcedo.
11, the church.
12, the parish priest.
13, Diego de Agüero.
15, Juan de Barbarán.
16, Pedro Navarro.
17, Hernán Ponce.
18, 20, Fr^co^. de Godoy.
19, Juan Díaz Melgar.
21, Martín Pizarro.
22, N. de Ribera (*el viejo*).
23, Roscan.
24, N. de Ribera (*el mozo*).
25, 26, Hernando Pizarro.
27, Juan de Barrios.
28, Rod^go^. de Mazuelas.
30, Ger^mo^. de Aliaga.
32, Martín de Alcántara.

N.B.—The Plan is copied from an eighteenth century MS. in the British Museum, but shows the allotments concerned, around the *Plaza mayor*, exactly as they were when the city was founded.

PLAN OF A PART OF THE
CITY OF LIMA

merely said, "Oh, they go to murder either the Marquis or Picado." The conspirators reached the *plaza* still shouting, "Long live the King! Death to tyrants!" Sometimes the name of Almagro was heard. So, without opposition, they came to the house of the Marquis. It was strong, and to reach the apartments where he was, it was necessary to cross two court-yards. In one there were narrow doorways, with doors so strong that if one man shot the bolts, it would take more than two hundred to force them. Besides these there was another door where the Marquis was, which persons in his company could easily defend against any who might come to assail him. But no attention was paid to these things and there were no precautions taken.

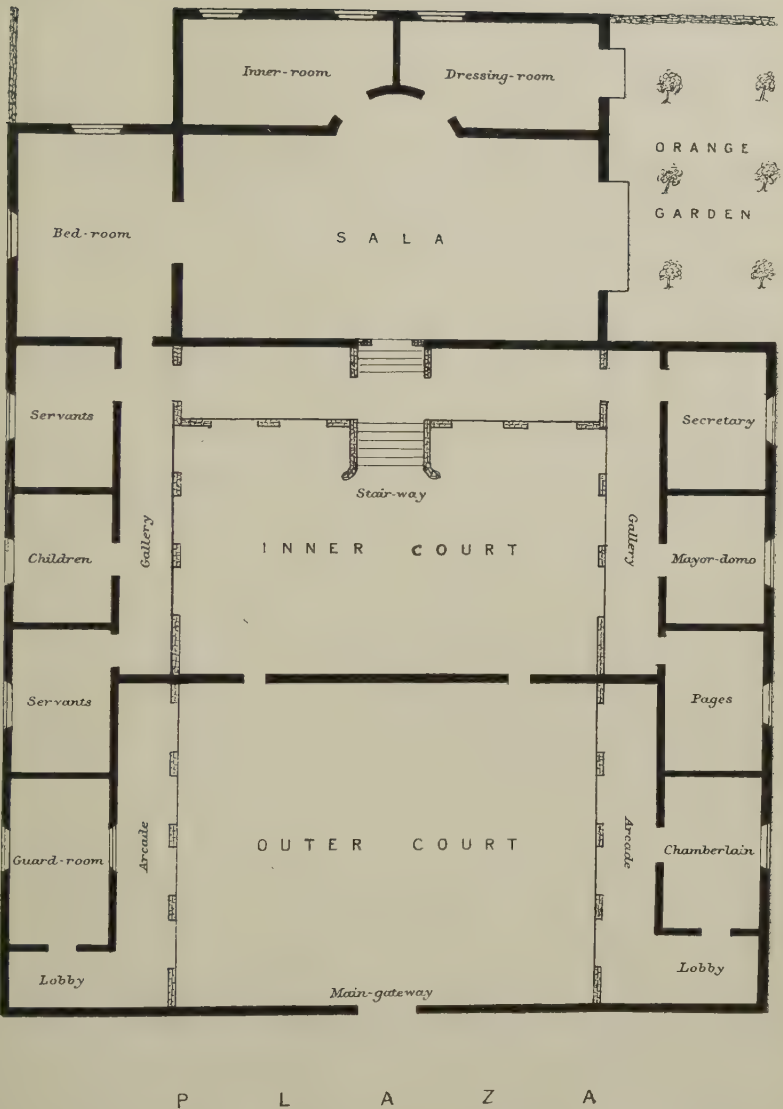
In the court-yard were the *Major-domo* Lozano, one Antonio Navarro, and his servant named Hurtado. In the *sala*, accompanying the Marquis, with only cloaks and swords, there were [1] —

Francisco Martín de Alcántara.[2]
Capt. Francisco de Chaves.[2]
D. Garci Diez [*sic*], Bishop of Quito.[3]
The Marquis's lieut. Dr. Juan Blázquez.[3]
The overseer García de Salcedo.[3]
Luis de Rivera.[3]
Juan Ortíz de Zárate.[2]
Alonso de Manjarrés.[3]
D. Gómez de Luna.[2]
The secretary Pedro López de Cáceres.[3]
Francisco de Ampuero.[3]
Rodrigo Pantoja.[3]
Diego Ortíz de Guzmán.[3]
Captn. Juan Pérez.[3]
Alonso Pérez de Esquivel.[3]
Hernán Núñez de Segura.[3]
Juan Enríquez (the elder).[3]
Gonzalo Hernández de la Torre.[2]
Juan Bautista Mallero.[3]
Hernán González.[3]
[*Francisco de Vergara.*]

[1] Come to pay their respects after mass. It was Sunday.
[2] Five good men and true.
[3] Fifteen cowards.

besides several servants of the Marquis and of others. The Marquis was conversing with the Bishop of Quito, when his page Diego de Vargas, son of Gómez de Tordoya, being at the street door, saw the murderers coming across the *plaza*, and rushed into the room in great perturbation, crying "Arm! Arm! for all the men of Chile are coming to murder the Marquis my master." This alarmed the Marquis and those who were with him. They went down to the first landing on the staircase to see what was happening. At the same moment the men of Chile entered the second court-yard shouting, "Long live the King! Death to tyrants." Jerónimo de Almagro wounded Hurtado badly. The *Mayor-domo* gallantly opposed them, but being alone his valour availed little; but, through the intercession of Diego Méndez he was not killed. Those who were with the Marquis retreated into the *sala*; most of them showing great cowardice and taking to flight in a dastardly way. The Doctor, with his wand of office, got out through a window, and dropped into the garden. The overseer García de Salcedo did the same. Others were in such fear and trembling that it seemed as if the men of Chile had thrust their swords into them. Some sought refuge between the beds or under the furniture.

The Marquis, his brother Francisco Martín, Gómez de Luna, and the two pages Vargas and Cardona went into an inner chamber to arm themselves. Francisco de Chaves, Diego Ortíz de Guzmán, Juan Ortíz, Pedro López de Cazalla, and Bartolomé de Vergara, and a few others who stood their ground, remained in the *sala* much alarmed and not knowing what to do. The Marquis, with a brave spirit, throwing off a long purple robe he was wearing, went into his dressing room, put on a breast-plate or two, and taking up the broad-sword he had used in his expeditions, he drew it out of its sheath, exclaiming, "Come along, my good sword, companion of my labours!" They



PLAN OF THE

MARQUIS PIZARRO'S HOUSE AT LIMA

(*Approximate*)

had closed the door of the *sala*, but the men of Chile came up the stairs. Juan de Herrada, being in front, exclaimed: "Oh joyful and happy day! Let all men know that Almagro was worthy to have such friends, since they know so well how to avenge his death on the cruel tyrant who caused it." Don Francisco de Chaves came forward from where he had been standing with the Bishop, and called for the door to be opened. Though they said that it was better to keep it shut, because if it was defended for a short time help would be sure to come, he was not satisfied; and ordered it to be opened. It was opened, and Don Francisco de Chaves met Juan de Herrada and the others face to face. With much humility and without a sign of resistance, not even putting his hand on his sword hilt, he said: "Sirs! what is this? You cannot feel the same anger toward me as you do towards the Marquis, for I was always a friend." Those in front answered not a word, but, Juan de Herrada turning his head to those who were behind, Arbolancha gave Chaves a mortal thrust. He instantly fell in a death struggle, and his body went rolling down the stairs into the court-yard. The men of Chile then rushed into the *sala*, shouting, "Where is the tyrant?" "Where is he?" Martín de Bilbao came to the door of the room where the Marquis was arming, and Juan Ortíz de Zárate gave him one or two wounds with a halberd. Juan Ortíz was also badly wounded.

Some would have it that this Juan Ortíz de Zárate warned the men of Chile that the Doctor intended to arrest them, by order of the Marquis, and other things were popularly reported which I was unable to find any proof of, so that from what did happen one gathers that they were lies.

Francisco Martín de Alcántara was at the door of the inner room with his sword drawn, and when he saw that the Chileans had reached the second door, he went back into the inner room where his brother the Marquis was, to

help him and die with him. The men of Chile shouted loudly, saying: "Death to the tyrant while there is time, before help can come!" The Marquis said: "What disgraceful thing is this? Why do you wish to kill me?" They, calling him "traitor," fought to get into the room, and murder him.

The aged Governor had not lost the valour which fame ascribed to him, nor had the gallantry which adorned his person been lessened in the slightest degree. So spirited and strong of heart did he show himself that I believe, if he had been on an open space, he would have taken vengeance unaided sooner than die at the hands of his enemies. When the Chileans saw that they could not get in, they called out for lances with which they might kill him from outside. His two young pages were with the Marquis, one named Vargas, the other Cardona, and with their swords drawn they placed themselves one on each side of their master.[1] The murderers, finding that they could not get to close quarters and that they were losing time, resorted to a cunning artifice. This was to hurl one of themselves against the Marquis, so that, being thus embarrassed, they might be able to dash in. One of them, named Narváez, was violently shoved from behind and thus forced inside, and the Marquis dealt him such wounds that he died from them.

Those of Chile were thus able to enter with a rush, and Martín de Billar, with others, delivered blows on that

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[1] These gallant boys deserve more than a passing notice. Young Vargas, son of Gómez de Tordoza, and cousin of Garcilaso de la Vega, was of the noblest blood of Castille. One ancestor rode by the side of St. Ferdinand at the taking of Seville, another sacrificed his life to save his king at Aljubarrota, another defeated the gigantic Moor in the famous duel on the Vega of Granada. The heroic page of Pizarro was worthy of such ancestry.

Cardona sprung from equally heroic stems. He was connected with the Córdovas, Dukes of Sesa, the family of the *Gran Capitán.*

Captain who had never tired of discovering kingdoms and conquering provinces, and who had grown old in the Royal service. They would never have triumphed over the Marquis, nor over his brother, if Francisco Martín had made good his efforts in proportion to the valour he displayed. At length, after having received many wounds, without a sign of weakness or abatement of his brave spirit, the Marquis fell dead upon the ground.[1] He expired, calling upon Christ our Lord. The body of this generous leader, honoured by having been that of so famous a Spaniard as he was, remained lifeless on the floor. His death took place at eleven in the forenoon on the 26th of June in the year of our redemption 1541. He governed, himself or by his lieutenants, from the town of Plata to the city of Cartago, which is 900 leagues and more. The Marquis was not married. He had, by ladies of this Realm, three sons and one daughter.[2] His age was sixty-three years and two months. A sign was beheld in heaven before he died. This was that the moon, being full and bright, presently seemed on fire, and changed colour, one half of it becoming blood-red, and the other half black. Then there was seen to dart from it certain shimmerings also the colour of blood. Many saw this just as I have related it.

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[1] Herrera and others tell a story that Juan Rodríguez Barragán hit the Marquis a blow with a silver jug full of water when he was on the ground, which killed him. Prescott repeats this in a footnote, calling Barragán "a soldier named Borregan." Helps writes: "Some base fellow dashed a jug upon his prostrate face."

Juan Rodríguez Barragán was not a soldier, but one of the lawyers in Almagro's pay. He was Almagro's procurator at the Judge Arbitrator's court when he pronounced the sentence at Mala, and Barragán raised a protest. His son was certainly one of the murderers, but the story of the jug is probably an invention. The son was hanged after the battle of Chupas. The word *barragán* means a youth, same as *mancebo*. Originally from Navarre, a branch of the family settled at Baeza in Andalusia, whose arms were *or, a tree vert, at its stem a dead knight and two ravens sable, wings raised.*

[2] The Marquis Pizarro had by the Princess Inez Huayllas, daughter of the great Inca Huayna Ccapac, two children, who are mentioned in

Beside the Marquis there were killed his half-brother Francisco Martín de Alcántara, his two pages Vargas and Cardona; while Gómez de Luna, Gonzalo Hernández de la Torre, Francisco de Vergara, and Hurtado were badly wounded.[1]

CHAPTER XXXII

Of the things which happened in Lima after the death of the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro.

THE Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro having been killed in the manner we have related, the murderers came out shouting, "The tyrant is dead!" All those of the Almagro party who were mounted outside joined the murderers, crying, "Long live the King!"—"Let the kingdom have justice!" Great was the dismay, and sharp were the pangs, which disturbed the mind of the secretary

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his will as legitimate, Gonzalo, who died in the flower of his youth, and Francisca, who went to Spain, years after her father's death, in charge of her step-father Don Francisco de Ampuero. She was married to her uncle, Hernando, when he was still a prisoner at Medina del Campo. By him she had three sons and a daughter. Hernando Pizarro was released after twenty-three years of captivity, and lived for nineteen years afterwards in his native town of Truxillo. His great grand-son * was created Marquis of the Conquest. The Marquis Pizarro also had a son named Francisco, by the Princess Anas (Angelina), sister of Atahualpa, who was a school-fellow of the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega at Cuzco. He died young and unmarried.

[1] Cieza de León omits Juan Ortíz de Zárate who defended the door at first, and was badly wounded, as he had just related. Torre and Vergara were much alarmed, but had remained in the *sala*. Hurtado was the servant wounded in the courtyard.

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Don Francisco, Marqués Pizarro

Hernando Pizarro = Francisca

Francisco = Francisca Giron

Juan = María de Bobadilla

Francisca Pizarro — Fernando Pizarro, 1st Marqués de la Conquista.

Antonio Picado, who had been occupied during the previous night in dancing and other youthful pastimes, when he heard the uproar and knew of the murder of the Marquis. Without thought or advice, but full of fear, he went to the house of the Treasurer, Alonso de Riquelme, and hid behind the curtains of a bed. The lieutenant, Dr. Juan Blázquez, had gone to hide in the monastery of Santo Domingo. A rumour was spread through the town that the Marquis wanted to kill Don Diego, and when Gómez de Alvarado (the brother of the Adelantado Don Pedro) heard of it, he came to the *plaza* lance in hand. When he heard the truth, he began to detest what had been done, saying that they had murdered a very valiant man. While he and the Governor, Francisco de Barrionuevo, were saying this, Juan de Herrada came to them. When Gómez de Alvarado saw him, he said: "Does this appear good to you, that you are doing, and have done?" Juan de Herrada answered: "Yesterday you spoke differently." Gómez de Alvarado said: "That is not so." Juan de Herrada turned to reply and said: "You are my father, and you have to bear more than this with patience;" and, in a great rage, ordered him to go into the church. Some of the men of Chile wanted to drag the body of the Marquis out, and set it on the gibbet. They were persuaded from this by the Bishop of Quito and others.

Juan de Barbarán,[1] with his wife, and the secretary Pero Gómez,[2] a native of Llerena, wrapped the body of the Marquis in a white cloth, and hurriedly conveyed it into the church, where, as best they could, they dug a hole into which they put it.[3]

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[1] A very faithful attendant of the Marquis. He was with Pizarro at Cajamarca, and was one of the twelve who rode with him to Mala. He avenged his master's murder at the battle of Chupas.

[2] One of Cieza de León's authorities. They were natives of the same town.

[3] After the murderers had departed from Lima, the body was placed

Don Diego came, with all the principal men of his party, and established himself in the houses of the Marquis, his friends and adherents making a great thing of what they had done, and saying that Don Diego and no other ought to be Governor, and that the King would hold it for good. This being done, the Chile party collected all the arms, horses, and arquebuses there were in the city, committing some outrages and atrocities such as usually happen in such calamitous times. From Diego Gavilán, the *conquistador*,[1] it is said that they took more than 14,000 *pesos* in gold, of which he afterwards recovered a small part. They robbed the houses of the Marquis, of his brother Francisco Martín, and of Picado. At the time of the murder of the Marquis there were on a visit Francisco de Godoy, Diego de Agüero, Jerónimo de Aliaga, Rodrigo de Mazuelos, Diego Gavilán, Rivera and others. Hearing the tumult, they had begun to arm themselves in his defence, but when they were ready it was too late, and their help was of no avail. There was great indignation in the city;

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in a coffin, and deposited in the sacristy of the old church (called "*Los Naranjos*") until the cathedral was completed. In 1607 the bodies of the Marquis Pizarro and of the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza were, by order of the king, placed under a vault behind the high altar of the cathedral. The coffin of the Marquis was covered with purple velvet embroidered in gold.

On June 28th, 1891, the Municipality of Lima erected a new tomb. The body is in a coffin with glass sides, and surmounted by a cross. On the pedestal there is the following inscription:

CAPTAIN GENERAL
DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO
Founder of Lima
on the 18th of January 1535
died 28th of June 1541

His remains were deposited in this urn
on the 29th of June 1891
by order of the Provincial Council of Lima
and through the initiative of
the Alcalde Dr. Juan de Roverech

[1] That is, he was with Pizarro at Cajamarca, where he received 181 *marcs* of silver, and 3884 *pesos* of gold from Atahualpa's ransom. He settled at Cuzco.

yet, although many regretted the death of the Marquis, they did not dare to show their feelings, holding for certain that the evil would become worse. The Captain Juan de Sayavedra[1] was absent from the Almagrist consultations, but showed concern rather, after he knew of the death of the Marquis, and retired to his house with some friends, to support Diego Ortíz de Guzmán. Don Baltasar de Castilla presently went to Don Diego and continued to serve him from that time until he was defeated at Chupas. Juan de Herrada, García de Alvarado, Francisco de Chaves, and others came to an agreement as to what should be done, and decided to arrest the citizens. After they had taken their horses and arms, they made prisoners of the licentiate Benito Suárez de Caravajal, the factor Illán Suárez de Caravajal his brother, the Captain Diego de Agüero, Jerónimo de Aliaga, Rodrigo de Mazuelos, and Diego Gavilán, with some others; and they took them to the church, where Gómez de Alvarado was already.

As the tumult in the city was great and all were going about in much perturbation, the friars of the monastery of Our Lady of Mercy, thinking that the men of Chile would proceed to yet greater violence, carried forth the holy sacrament, our true God, so that, out of proper reverence, they would refrain from further murders and robberies. Captain Francisco de Chaves,[2] chancing to pass along the street, did a thing so foul and so un-Christian that I am surprised the Devil did not carry him off straight to hell. It was that, when he saw the friars come out with the *Corpus Domini*, he exclaimed, giving a shrug, without making any obeisance or salute to the Majesty, but with great disdain and little fear of the Deity, and contempt for the clergy: "Go back into the church, Fathers; there is nothing for you to come out about."

[1] One of Almagro's old captains.

[2] The bad one.

When they had taken all the arms, imprisoned persons they suspected, and put guards over them, Don Diego and all his captains retired to their lodgings. Captain Cristóbal de Sotelo then went to Don Diego, astonished at learning that the Marquis had been slain with so little opposition. He wished that his party had waited until the arrival of the Judge, for such had always been his advice.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Of the things that were done by the Chile party, and how they accepted Don Diego as Governor, also of the arrest of Antonio Picado, and how the Licentiate Rodrigo Niño and Orihuela came from Spain.

HAVING imprisoned the principal citizens of Lima, got possession of the city, and seized all the arms and horses, the party resolved that Don Diego should be recognized as Governor. The news of the death of the Marquis was soon spread over all the districts, and reached the ears of the Indians. When it became generally known it was deeply mourned. The Indians said that the Christians had been very cruel to kill their captain, and that his death would give rise to grave evils. Never again would there be any one to shelter and protect them like him who was the first to discover and conquer them. They say that the battle of Chupas and its result was then foretold by the Indians.

It appeared to Juan de Herrada and his friends that it was a certain thing that the municipality must receive Don Diego[1] as its Governor; in order that justice might

[1] Cieza de León always calls the half-caste son of the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro by the name 'Don Diego.' Others call him Almagro the lad (*el mozo*). He was born at Panamá, the son of Almagro by an Indian woman of Panamá who was his servant, and called Ana Martínez. He was probably born in 1518. Francisco Martín de Alcántara, the half brother of the Marquis, brought the half-caste boy to Peru in 1535, when his age was seventeen, and

be maintained in the Realm until the rightful vengeance he had taken for the death of his father should be known to his Majesty, when the government would be granted to him. Fearing that the prisoners were not secure in the church, more guards were placed over them. The conspirators ordered the magistrates and municipal officers to assemble and elect Don Diego as Governor. The authorities, when they knew the intention of Don Diego and Juan de Herrada, considered that, although it was a great fault, still the lesser evil would be to accept the lad as Governor. It is said that among themselves they resented the force that was put upon them, and that Rodrigo de Mazuelos spoke very openly, at a meeting, against Don Diego. They proposed, however, to accept him in association with the treasurer Alonso de Riquelme. While the men of Chile were thinking that over, Antonio de Garay said that he did not hold that Don Diego was so ignorant as to need another to help him in governing. Finally Don Diego was accepted as Governor, and they took the wands from the ordinary magistrates, and gave them to Peces and Martín Carrillo. Cristóbal de Sotelo was made Lieutenant Governor; but Juan de Herrada was the man who governed Don Diego, and directed him in what he had to do.

Up to this time the secretary Antonio Picado had not been captured; but now the conspirators went to the house of the treasurer Alonso de Riquelme, where they already knew he was. Searching the house, it is said that the treasurer told them, when they asked him where the

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treated him as one of his family, in his house at Lima. Later he was sent to Cuzco to meet his father returning from Chile. He was with his father until the battle of Las Salinas. It was then decided to send him to Lima under the care of Gómez de Alvarado and Juan de Herrada. At Jauja they met the Marquis Pizarro, who treated the lad as his own son, and ordered him to be well cared for, and lodged in his house. This continued for a long time. But such crowds of discontented Almagrists were always coming there, that at last the Marquis sent the lad to another lodging in Lima.

secretary was, that he did not know and had not seen him. At the same time he cast his glance in a certain direction, telling them by that sign that they would find him under the bed; where they took him. As he might know where the treasure of the Marquis was, and the documents, they agreed to treat him well, so that, thinking they were not going to kill him, he would divulge. They took him to the house of Don Diego, who was now called Governor.

At this time a gentleman named the licentiate Rodrigo Niño, a native of Toledo, arrived from Spain. He and one Francisco de Orihuela came to find the Marquis, Orihuela bringing despatches and the licentiate to be an advocate in the *residencia*. Just then, too, a trumpeter who had been in the service of the Marquis was killed. They also arrested Hurtado, whom they found in the house of the Bishop Don Garcí Díaz. They gave the officials, to be inventoried, certain gold and jewels found in a closet of the Marquis's house. A man left Lima and went to inform Alonso de Cabrera, Chamberlain of the Marquis, of what had occurred. Don Diego ordered all the papers and documents of the Marquis to be collected. Among other things they found a will he had made before he died. Among the papers there were letters from the *Comendador Mayor*, Don Francisco de los Cobos, and from Dr. Beltrán, and the Cardinal, and other Grandees of Spain favourable to the Marquis.

It seemed well that news of the death of the Marquis should be sent to Cuzco, to Gabriel de Rojas and other friends of Don Diego's father, that they might be aware of it, and it is said that an appointment as Lieutenant was sent to Gabriel de Rojas. There was a very diligent man in Lima named Juan Diente, who was ordered to go to Cuzco with the news. He went all that way on foot in five days, a thing that seems almost incredible. But many witnesses are yet alive who know to be true what I here

affirm, that Juan Diente travelled the 120 leagues from Lima to Cuzco in five days,[1] over a road so rough and wearisome, and in parts snow-covered as we have described elsewhere. Some say, however, that Indians carried him on their shoulders over the greater part in a hammock.

CHAPTER XXXIV

How Don Diego de Almagro, having tyrannically occupied the city of Lima, sent messengers to other cities of the Realm, requiring them to recognize him as Governor.

DON DIEGO had got possession of the city of Lima, and had been accepted there as Governor. Next, by the advice of Juan de Herrada, Cristóbal de Sotelo, Francisco de Chaves, and the rest, he resolved to attempt to gain the support of the inhabitants of the city, and of other cities, by soft words. Letters were prepared and messengers despatched to all the cities of the Realm, but chiefly to Alonso de Alvarado, who was lieutenant for the Marquis in the city of La Frontera, which is a settlement in the Chachapoyas, stating politely that Don Diego would value his friendship, and desired him to be his lieutenant in the city of which he had charge. This letter was sent off at once. García de Alvarado, at Don Diego's request, then went to speak with Gómez de Alvarado, hoping to persuade him to remember the friendship he had of old for Don Diego's father, and not to go against the son nor even remain neutral. Gómez de Alvarado thereupon went to speak with Don Diego, whom everybody was calling Governor, and to offer his support as from the first. A

[1] Juan Diente was in the conspiracy, though not one of the actual murderers. For this he was hanged at Guamanga, after the battle of Chupas. He ought to have been let off in consideration of his fine pedestrianism!

messenger was also sent to Truxillo, and Diego de Mora, who was lieutenant at that place, wrote very agreeably to Don Diego, expressing satisfaction at what had been done. Don Alonso de Montemayor came back when he heard that the Judge had arrived at Buenaventura, and about what had happened at Lima. Juan Balsa collected what arms he could and some horses, to go and join Don Diego.

Alonso de Cabrera, who, we have said, was a servant of the Marquis, was in Guaylas. When he heard of the death of his master he was much grieved. He managed to get together some Spaniards, intending to go forth and do what damage he could to the men of Chile. When this was known in Lima, Juan de Herrada wrote to him to persuade him to come to the city and take charge of the children of the Marquis; but he, madly and without considering the changes wrought by time, replied almost with menace, which availed him nothing and only fired the anger of the usurpers, who would have been glad to get Cabrera into their power and kill him. Although they knew that Diego de Mora had shown himself to be friendly to Don Diego, they agreed, on the advice of Juan de Herrada and Cristóbal de Sotelo, to send García de Alvarado to Truxillo with forty horsemen, to do what was best for their party in that city. Presently García de Alvarado started, and in a place called *Tambo Blanco* he met Luis García Samamés, lord of the Conchucos Indians, who told him not to go on, because Diego de Mora and everyone in Truxillo had shown themselves to be his very good friends, and would do whatever he might ask them so long as it were not against the King's service. If Alvarado went there, he said, it would afford an opening for dissension in the city, and there would be trouble. García de Alvarado, thinking well of what Luis García Samamés had said to him, returned to Lima. Meanwhile there was news that Cabrera was collecting men. García de Alvarado was

therefore ordered to embark in a galleon that was in the port, with fifty horsemen and twenty arquebusiers, and go and take Cabrera prisoner; and then to proceed along the coast as far as the city of San Miguel. García de Alvarado obeyed this order, and sailed away on the route to Truxillo with the force we have stated.

CHAPTER XXXV

How García de Alvarado left Lima and landed at Santa, captured Cabrera, and went on until he arrived at San Miguel, and of those he killed on the way; and how the captain Alonso de Alvarado raised his standard for the king.

HAVING arranged what he had to take with him, and embarked the men and horses in the galleon, García de Alvarado presently departed and arrived at Santa, and landed. There he received news that Cabrera and some others had come to that valley. The Indians had collected provisions and fodder for the horses. It was true that Cabrera and Barroso, with seven or eight others, had come down to the coast valleys, intending to seek for the Licentiate Vaca de Castro. Alvarado was adroit enough to capture Cabrera, Barroso, Cáceres, and three more. He found from them that there were no others. There being nothing more to do there, he went on with his prisoners to Truxillo, taking great care lest there should be any mischance. I got my information from soldiers who were with him on that march. They assured me that he never laid his arms aside nor wearied of any labour, but rather pitied them in cheerful vein, and afforded an example himself to those who served under him. Having arrived in the city of Truxillo, although Diego de Mora had shown himself to be very friendly to young Almagro, García de Alvarado suspected that the people of that city might rise against him

and kill him, in order to rid themselves of such undesirables. He therefore occupied the houses of the Marquis with all the men he had brought with him. He did not allow any damage to be done in the city, though he himself seized the money of deceased persons which was in trust, and some horses and arms. At Truxillo he ordered the galleon to take the prisoners to the port of Payta, while he marched by land to the city of San Miguel. Here we will leave him, to tell the story of how the captain Alonso de Alvarado heard of the death of the Marquis, which was before the murderers had completed their damnable design.

Rumours of what the conspirators thought of doing became bruited about, and a certain soldier at Lima who had served under Alonso de Alvarado in the campaign of Moyobamba learnt from them their intention. As there was no reason why he should do any disservice to his Majesty, nor count himself among the men of Chile's party, this soldier set out to tell what he knew to Alonso de Alvarado. In five days he reached Tenpuele, and a little farther on he met a citizen of Guanuco named Juan de Mora, and told him what was happening, and that the Chile party had evil intentions against the Marquis. The soldier, who was named Carrillo, pressed onwards until he reached the city of La Frontera, where he found that Alonso de Alvarado was absent, having gone to subdue a province in the Chachapoyas. A few days afterwards the Marquis was murdered, and the news soon reached Guanuco, where Pedro Barroso was Lieutenant. He and the residents there at once agreed to go and join Alonso de Alvarado, who was in the Chachapoyas. Juan de Mora set out with promptitude to carry him the news quickly. On the road he wrote a letter, and sent it on by an *anacona*,[1] who was a great

[1] *Yana-cuna* would mean "servants." *Cuna* is the plural particle. There is no such word as *anacona*. It should be *yana* (without the *cuna*).

runner, giving notice of what had happened. This Indian arrived where the captain Alonso de Alvarado was, who received the disastrous news and felt deep sorrow. Juan de Mora, who was an inhabitant of the city of Guanuco, arrived at Chachapoyas. As soon as the captain fully understood the details of the murder of the Marquis, he returned to the city of La Frontera and summoned the magistrates. With their unanimous will and consent he was accepted as Chief Justice and Captain-general for the King, against whoever should dare to occupy the Realm without the Royal will. Soon afterwards he raised the banner in the King's name, and declared himself an enemy to the men of Chile's party. Having done these things, the captain called before him all the Caciques of the district, and spoke to them in a very friendly way, saying that they now knew of the murder of the Marquis by the men of Chile, and that as they had always been kindly treated by him, he begged them to post spies on all the roads, and to let him know if any Spaniards approached, and not to fail in vigilance. The Caciques answered that they would do all that he required. When those who came from Guanuco had arrived, and Alvarado was accepted by all as Captain, he ordered them to be furnished with arms, and also that pikes and lances should be made. Of silver and iron they made corselets, helmets and visors, gauntlets, and all the arms that were required; so that if the Chileans should approach, they would find them ready. And all was done very willingly in obedience to the Captain Alonso de Alvarado's directions.

Seeing the willingness of the people who were with him to serve his Majesty, and their great zeal, and having had news of the coming of the Licentiate Vaca de Castro, he sent messengers to let the Judge know that he had raised the banner for the King, and had assembled two hundred men, well armed and provided, ready to serve his Majesty and

to punish the atrocious crime perpetrated at Lima by the murder of the Marquis. Vaca de Castro was urged to hasten his journey, and join the royal forces as soon as possible. Some portion was stationed for defence against the enemy amongst the great rugged mountains and many rivers, and also to allow those who wished to come and serve their King to do so without danger. Being so instructed, the messenger, whose name was Pedro de Orduña, set out to find Vaca de Castro. Having despatched this messenger, Alvarado sent another one to Moyobamba. He was to call upon captain Juan Pérez de Guevara, who had gone to settle certain Spaniards in those parts, to leave the new settlement they were forming, for a time, and to come to him, for the Realm had been thrown into great confusion owing to the men of Chile having murdered the Marquis in the city of Lima. Having heard this news, settlers came from all parts to serve under the banner of the loyal captain. When Alonso de Alvarado saw how his force was increasing, he resolved to send Iñigo López Carillo, with another soldier, with money to buy arms and horses at Truxillo secretly, through the help of friends he had in that city. These two travelled with much haste, and arrived at Truxillo, placing Indians at intervals along the route so as to be able to send back any communications that might be necessary. Having arrived near the city, they left the Chachapoya Indians they brought with them, secreted, and went themselves to the monastery of Our Lady of Mercy. They gave the friars an account of their mission, and presented letters from Don Alonso de Alvarado. The friars very cunningly bought some breast-plates and coats of mail and other arms at the city of La Frontera, as well as iron for making more, spending a large sum of money at Alvarado's expense. After the arms had been purchased and were got in readiness, they were removed at night by means of the Chachapoya Indians, and the envoys set out

for where Alvarado was stationed, leaving letters to the municipality and other bodies and principal people of Truxillo, urging them to eschew friendship with Don Diego, who, on a plea of avenging his father's death, had seized the government with great tyranny; and to join forces with himself, for when Vaca de Castro should arrive he would punish Don Diego. At this time Villafranca was lieutenant for Almagro at Truxillo, and he received news of how the captain Alonso de Alvarado had raised the banner for the King.

All this that we have related happened before García de Alvarado came to Truxillo. When the coming of Carrillo and the carrying off of the arms came to his knowledge he was greatly vexed, and sent some of his horsemen in pursuit, but they could not overtake Carrillo and his Indians.

CHAPTER XXXVI

How Don Diego de Almagro wrote to Captain Alonso de Alvarado, without knowing that he had raised the banner, and how he sent him an appointment as Lieutenant; and of the death of Orihuela.

WE have already related that Don Diego, by the advice of Juan de Herrada and Cristóbal de Sotelo, determined to write to the captain Alonso de Alvarado at the city of La Frontera,[1] where he was lieutenant for the Marquis. He wrote a very polite letter, apprising him of the death of the Marquis and of how the municipality of the city of Lima had acknowledged him, Don Diego, as Governor, and that all the other cities and towns in the Realm had done the same. He appealed to Don Alonso, as a knight who would understand the motive for avenging the death of his father, not to side against him. He asked him to show friendship and to retain from him the

[1] In the Chachapoyas province.

appointment he had held from the Marquis, which he now sent, desiring to increase his honour and estate. With this letter he sent him a commission as captain and Governor's lieutenant in that city. And to make sure that Don Alonso should accept the commission without wavering they compelled the secretary Antonio Picado, who was their prisoner, and whom they knew to be a fast friend of Alvarado's, to write him a letter in his own style explaining that Don Diego had acquiesced in the murder of the Marquis because of the ingratitude he had shown towards Almagro his father, and the cruelty with which he had treated his partisans; adding that, since all the lieutenants and captains of the Marquis had obeyed and complied with the demands of Don Diego, Alvarado should do the same. By refusing he would be doing great disservice to God and to his Majesty, and injury to the natives. With these letters Juan de Herrada wrote another saying almost the same thing. These letters were sent to the city of La Frontera, but when Alonso de Alvarado saw them he became very angry, and replied in terms relating to the crime they had committed, and not to the soft words they had written.

In Lima there began to be troubles among the men of Chile themselves. They took the Doctor Juan Blázquez, who had withdrawn to the convent of Santo Domingo, and kept him a prisoner in the house of Antonio Picado, where he was for several days. The Bishop Friar Vicente de Valverde came from Cuzco very depressed on hearing of the death of the Marquis and finding that his brother the doctor was a prisoner, for he feared that those of Chile would kill him. There was a little vessel lying in the port, and, pretending he was going out hunting, he got on board with his brother Dr Blázquez, and some other persons, and put to sea with the intention of going to seek for the President Vaca de Castro. But at the island of Puna the natives

came out and killed the bishop, the doctor, and sixteen other Spaniards. Twenty Spaniards also left the coast to go trading to Quito, with much merchandise; and a Cacique named Chaparra attacked them in the region of Carrochamba, killed them all without leaving one, and took all the merchandise. To return to García de Alvarado. He left the city of Truxillo to go to San Miguel. In the valley of Jayanca he left all his party except twenty horsemen, and with these he went on to San Miguel. There he established the government for Almagro, seized the gold of deceased persons and all the horses and arms that were to be had, and arrested the licentiate León because he suspected him. Several days had passed since Alonso de Alvarado had raised the banner for the King, and it had become known throughout the Realm. Great was the perturbation among the men of Chile, for, as Alvarado's authority was widespread, they deplored his being against them. García de Alvarado had made prisoners of Cabrera, Villegas, Vozmediano, and others, who had been raising opposition by means of letters to all parts. So, in order to put fear into the rest, or for some other reason, Juan de Herrada wrote to García de Alvarado, ordering him to kill these men at once. As soon as García de Alvarado had seen the letter he sent to Payta for the prisoners, and cut off their heads at San Miguel, as the crier proclaimed, "for being mutineers." Orihuela, the same who had arrived from Spain with despatches for the Marquis, not taking heed that it was no time for plain speaking, went to the residence of Don Diego, and used some strong language which the men of that party did not like. So Juan de Herrada went to Orihuela's lodging and arrested him, and next morning they took him to the gibbet and cut off his head as a mutineer. Before he died he declared that he was not under Don Diego's jurisdiction. Why, then, did they put him to death, if it was not for a letter he wrote

some days before to the chamberlain Alonso de Cabrera, saying that he was an envoy from Spain and that he would bear himself as a courageous man in seeing the death of the Marquis avenged? When they were about to kill him he cried with a loud voice that they should mind that he was employed by the Crown, thinking that on that account peradventure they might spare his life.

After this was done Don Diego and Juan de Herrada brought all their ingenuity to bear to find out where the treasure was which the Marquis had possessed. Sometimes they asked Antonio Picado, with blandishments, to tell them; and when that was of no use, they put him into a great fright by threatening to compel him by applying the torture.

CHAPTER XXXVII

How Don Pedro Puertocarrero would not be a Lieutenant for Almagro, and how he and Gómez de Tordoya and some others quitted the city of Cuzco, also how some were grieved when they heard of the death of the Marquis.

I HAVE already related how Don Diego sent that man named Juan Diente, so famous for his fleetness of foot, to the city of Cuzco, with letters for the Captain Gabriel de Rojas, and other old friends of his father, and also sent to Don Pedro Puertocarrero offering him the office of lieutenant in his own name. He also sent an alternative commission in blank, so that if none of those should wish to take the appointment someone else might be chosen. When Juan Diente passed by Guamanga, Vasco de Guevara was there as lieutenant. He brought letters to him also, to be its new Governor, trusting to the friendship he had for Don Diego's father, one of whose captains he had been at Las Salinas. There was some trouble at Guamanga, for although some rejoiced at what had happened, others very

deeply deplored it. Finally Guevara was accepted by the municipality as Governor. Juan Diente then went on to Cuzco, which city he entered at night, going direct to the monastery of Our Lady of Mercy. From thence he delivered his letters to the persons they were for, and three or four days elapsed before any news was made public.

Before this the licentiate de la Gama, with most of the other residents, had left the city to go to the Collao to prevent the Captain Pero Alvarez and the Spaniards who had gone with him on an expedition into the country of the Chunchos from doing any injury to the natives, so that there were very few citizens left in Cuzco; but there were over eighty men there who had served under the Adelantado Almagro at the battle of Las Salinas, and when they heard the news they were very glad and contented, and exchanged congratulations with each other.

All this time Gabriel de Rojas was in his house waiting to see whether Don Pedro Puertocarrero would accept the wand of office from Don Diego. Presently the *Comendador* of Our Lady of Mercy came out into the square with another friar; for in this Realm there is a great grievance, which is that friars are the promoters of wars. These and over seventy men at arms cried out that they should go to the town hall and approve the assumption of office by the new Governor. While they were in the square, one Melchor Hernández, a native of Truxillo, went to the house of Don Pedro and told him what was taking place. In some perturbation Don Pedro got up, and taking his arms went to the *plaza*, first asking Hernández what he knew. He told him what was going on, and about the murder of the Marquis. When Don Pedro came to the *plaza* the *Comendador* of Our Lady of Mercy told him that he ought to accept Don Diego as Governor. Pedro de Puertocarrero proceeded to the hall where the municipal councillors usually met, where Diego de Silva and Francisco de Caravajal, *alcaldes*,

Hernando Bachicao and Tomás Blázquez, magistrates, were assembled, no others being in the city. Don Pedro de Puertocarrero, much upset, said to them that they knew intelligence had come of the death of the Marquis, and that he was thereby divested of authority to act as his lieutenant. They must, therefore, take over the wand of office from him, and give it to whom they might select. After those present had made some remarks and had asked Don Pedro to resume the wand, which he, however, declined, Francisco de Caravajal said let him leave it, and why was he so timorous? for that Julius Caesar was a greater lord, yet was killed in his palace. There was some further discussion, but the magistrates and *alcaldes* did not agree in naming any one to be the new lieutenant. The party of Chile shouted out asking what they were doing, and why did they not accept Don Diego as Governor? Then the municipality, either because they could do nothing else or because they were afraid, or from some other cause sufficient unto themselves, accepted Don Diego as Governor, and appointed Gabriel de Rojas to be his lieutenant.

Gómez de Tordoya and Juan Vélez had gone out hunting that day, and were not in the city; neither was Diego de Maldonado, nor the other citizens who might have opposed the tyranny of Almagro. The Indians who lived in Cuzco and the neighbourhood were deeply affected when they heard of the death of the Marquis and of these doings, and a very great tumult arose in the city. Gómez de Tordoya and Juan Vélez came back from hunting, and passed along where Don Pedro Puertocarrero was. They heard from him of the death of the Marquis,[1] and that Don Diego had been accepted as Governor and Gabriel de Rojas as his lieutenant. When Gómez de Tordoya heard the news

[1] We are not told whether Gómez de Tordoya then heard of the heroic death of his young son, who was Pizarro's page.

he was deeply grieved. They say that he went fully armed to where the municipal council had been held, and said that the murder of the Marquis was a gross treason, and that God would punish the traitors as they deserved for so great a crime. Those of the Almagro party who were in Cuzco showed themselves well content at what had happened, and thought that the King, our Lord, would pardon Don Diego for the murder of the Marquis, and give him the government of New Toledo which had been granted to his father. Gómez de Tordoya and Juan Vélez de Guevara, fearing lest the men of Chile should arrest them, agreed to flee that night. Don Pedro Puertocarrero might have done the same, but he preferred to wait and see if he could take with him the few citizens who remained. Gómez de Tordoya and Juan Vélez took the royal road towards Collasuya, and arrived at Chuqui-apu,[1] where they found the citizens of Cuzco who had gone away with the licentiate de La Gama to put Pero Alvarez outside the boundaries. When they heard of the death of the Marquis great was the sorrow they felt, remembering how he had served his Majesty for sixteen years, exploring and opening up the kingdom, and now in his old age, ever occupied with laborious work without any rest, he had been murdered by these men of Chile. They felt so deeply the murder of their captain that they could not restrain their feelings. The tears which fell from their eyes were sure signs of the love they felt for their murdered captain.

Don Pedro was kept a prisoner in his house at Cuzco. He had sent to warn the remaining citizens—namely, to Diego de Silva, Francisco de Caravajal, Tomás Vázquez, Francisco Sánchez, and Diego de Gumiel—to flee from Cuzco. But the men of Chile arrested two of them, and took care that the rest should not escape. Pedro de los

[1] La Paz.

Ríos was outside the city, and when about to return home he was told what was going on. So he waited until night, and then went to his own house. Don Pedro de Puertocarrero got word of his coming, and they consulted together and agreed to leave the city; and though several Chile men were charged to watch him he got away from his house, with his horses and a servant who called himself Benavides. Being joined by Pedro de los Ríos they followed for more than a league down the bed of the stream which flows through Cuzco, when they left it and took the track that seemed most likely to lead them after Gómez de Tordoya, with whom Captain Castro, Francisco de Villacastin, Jerónimo de Sorio, Gonzalo de los Nidos, and others, had already joined company.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

How Gómez de Tordoya and other citizens of Cuzco agreed to send messengers to the captain Pero Alvarez Holguin that, on knowing of the death of the Marquis, he should raise the banner for the King.

I AM weary of trying to comprehend the events which happened in the Realm at this time, because it was proper to narrate what passed in Lima, and the steps taken by Vaca de Castro. God is my witness to the vigils I have kept and the little ease I have enjoyed. I only want one reward, and that is that the reader will look upon me as a friend, and bear in mind the many journeys I have made to investigate the notable events in these Realms. And as the labour of composing these writings is so great, I am already tired and sincerely wish to get to the end of it. But there! we must return to our story. Pero Alvarez Holguin had come with a commission from the Marquis to invade the country of the Chunchos from which Pero

Anzures had returned unsuccessful. Some say that, before he started from Lima, he had spoken to the men of Chile and advised them to kill the Marquis and avenge the death of Don Diego de Almagro the elder, and that, when he arrived at Cuzco, several people heard him say that the Marquis was going to be killed. This is not known for certain, being merely what was rumoured. I do not believe that Holguin stated anything like that. But they say that he did not seem to go off very well pleased with the Marquis.

Gómez de Tordoya, Gonzalo de los Nidos, Villacastin, and the other citizens and knights who had gathered together, considered what they should do that the result might turn out prosperous, and that his Majesty might be duly served. The licentiate de La Gama and Captain Castro, with others who had started with Pero Alvarez Holguin, said that as he had not yet entered the region he was making for, they determined, as good and loyal vassals and servants of his Majesty, to take a very decisive step. This was to write to Pero Alvarez that, as the Marquis was dead, and the murderers had got possession of the Realm and held it, he, being so good a servant of the king, should abandon the enterprise he had undertaken and join them with the men he had with him; and that they would recognize him as Captain-general, and raise the banner of his Majesty. He could then prevent the Chile party from doing any harm, and march to join the licentiate Vaca de Castro who, as they all knew, was coming as Judge of *residencia.* They urged Pero Alvarez not to refuse what they now proposed, because fortune appeared favourable, and in addition to honour and everlasting fame, he would acquire a great reward in the Realm. They added that he should know the city of Cuzco favoured Don Diego, and that Gabriel de Rojas was there as his Lieutenant.

Having written this, and while they were all in a village of the Collao called *Ayavire*, Martín de Almendras arrived there, on his way from the town of La Plata. They agreed to send him to Pero Alvarez with the news, and Almendras promised to go with all diligence. He started in a litter, accompanied by many Indians, and travelled so fast that in one day and one night he covered 37 leagues. For Indians came in relays from all parts to carry the litter or hammock in which he made the journey. Travelling at this speed Almendras arrived at a village called *Chuquito* where he found some soldiers of Pero Alvarez, left there to await news of whether the Marquis had dismissed him from the command or made any other provision to his detriment. His suspicion must have arisen from having had some conversations with the men of Chile at Lima, and he thought that if this came to the ears of the Marquis he would deprive him of his command. Those who were thus left were a knight, native of Cáceres, named Sancho Perero, a veteran in these Realms who had served his Majesty, and Hernando de Rivera, with two or three others. When Almendras arrived where they were, they asked him what was the news, and why he came in such a hurry. He answered very sadly that they would soon know, and then went to rest, to be ready to start again. Sancho Perero, and the others when they heard those words that "they would soon know what was coming," believed that the Marquis was sending a new order to Pero Alvarez countermanding the enterprise. So they determined to seize the despatch or letters that Almendras was carrying. They went straight to where he was, held a dagger at his breast, and said that if he did not give up the letters they would kill him. Seeing himself in this difficulty, Almendras said that there was no reason in what they were doing, for that they might know that what he came for was to advise Captain Pero Alvarez of the death

of the Marquis. Having said this he related to them all that was happening, and how he had been slain by the men of Chile; and they were very deeply affected.

Sancho Perero told Almendras to stay there, as he must be tired by his journey, and that he would go to Pero Alvarez with the news. Martín de Almendras replied that he was content with that arrangement; but presently he started in his hammock and travelled until he came to the province of *Chuqui-apu*, where he caught up the captain Pero Alvarez. When that officer heard the news he was moved by it, but gladly accepted the appointment that was offered him, and declared that he would either avenge the murder of the Marquis or die in the attempt. Gómez de Tordoya came along with those who were flocking to where Pero Alvarez was, and when he arrived at Chuquito he had got together twenty-five Spaniards. There it was agreed amongst them to send another messenger to Pero Alvarez, and that Captain Castro should be the man; for celerity, in times like these, was a great help towards a prosperous ending. So Castro went off at once and proceeded until he met Pero Alvarez, who at the first news had raised the banner of the King against the tyranny of Almagro. He entrusted the banner to Martín de Robles, and went on in advance with such as were mounted to form a junction with Gómez de Tordoya and the others who were at Chuquito. They all showed great joy at the meeting. Don Pedro Puertocarrero and Pedro de los Ríos had left Cuzco with the idea of reaching the town of La Plata, and there joining Pero Anzures. But when they heard of the assembling of troops in the Collao they repaired thither and joined Pero Alvarez and the citizens of Cuzco. It was then decided to return to that city, and have Pero Alvarez declared Captain-General in the name of his Majesty, to punish the tyranny of the men of Chile and their usurpation of the Realm.

CHAPTER XXXIX

How Pero Alvarez Holguin was received as Captain-General against the party of Chile, and how Gómez de Tordoya was appointed Camp Master, and how they entered the city of Cuzco.

AFTER Pero Alvarez Holguin had been fully informed of the events that had occurred in the Realm, and that Gabriel de Rojas was Lieutenant to Almagro in Cuzco, it was agreed that the next step should be to return to that city, and arrest Gabriel de Rojas and the others whom they might find there obeying the call of the men of Chile. With this understanding they got ready to depart. But first they all accepted Pero Alvarez Holguin as their General; and he appointed Gómez de Tordoya as his Camp Master, confirmed Martín de Robles as Ensign-general, and named Castro to be Captain of the Arquebusiers. Having made these arrangements General Pero Alvarez immediately wrote to Captain Pedro Anzures, who had been Lieutenant to the Marquis Pizarro in the town of La Plata, giving that officer to know that he, Pero Alvarez, had been named General to act against the party of Chile, seeing that the disservice that had been done to his Majesty by the outrageous murder of the Marquis was very great. As every knight is bound to show his valour in such times, Don Pedro Anzures was called upon to assemble all the men possible, and join Pero Alvarez Holguin in the city of Cuzco, whither the latter intended to go to collect others. Sancho Perero was sent to La Plata on this embassy. Holguin, with those who were with him, determined to march to Cuzco and enter the city without being expected. He had collected fifty horsemen. Those on foot were ordered by Pero Alvarez to follow without much hurry, until they should reach Cuzco, where endeavour would be

made to provide horses for all. He himself, with the fifty horsemen I have mentioned, set out for Cuzco, where Gabriel de Rojas was still Lieutenant for young Almagro.

Some of the men of Chile went to Lima with the news that the citizens of Cuzco had sent for Pero Alvarez to come and be made their leader. No small perturbation was caused by their tidings, and by the news of the proceedings of Alonso de Alvarado as we shall show further on. At Cuzco they had news of the gathering of men at Chuquito, and of how Pero Alvarez had turned back from the Chuncho expedition. Gabriel de Rojas placed spies on the road to find out whether Pero Alvarez was coming or not, and what they had decided to do. Pero Alvarez, and his Master of the Camp, Gómez de Tordoya, marched on to reach Cuzco with all possible speed. Although the city was warned of their coming, no resistance was offered; on the contrary, they were written to to enter peacefully, for that Gabriel de Rojas had his appointment in the King's name, and not from any tyrant whatsoever, and that all were against Don Diego and the party of Chile. The municipality wrote these and other things to Pero Alvarez. Some fled when it was known that Pero Alvarez was coming, that is, those who had been with the Adelantado at Las Salinas. Pero Alvarez and his followers entered the city, making all the noise they could, to lead people to think they were numerous, but without doing violence to or insulting those who were within. Pero Alvarez ordered the municipal officers to meet in Council, with the *alcaldes* and magistrates, and he was accepted by them as Captain-General in the name of his Majesty. This acceptance was made unwillingly by the municipality because the members of it preferred Gabriel de Rojas. But Pero Alvarez caused the meeting place to be surrounded, and finally they accepted him. The magistrates and *alcaldes* asked for the accustomed fees, which

he would not give, and they were not powerful enough to enforce their claim. Presently, at the sound of trumpets, the act of assumption of office was proclaimed. All the other citizens and inhabitants of the city approved the appointment of Pero Alvarez, and showed themselves glad, because he inspired great hopes, and they shouted through the city, with loud voices, "Long live the King"! When it became known that more than sixty Spaniards had quitted Cuzco, Captain Castro was ordered to follow and arrest them. And there went out with him—

Juan Alonso Palomino	Hernando Bachicao
Lope Martín	Tomás Vázquez
Jerónimo de Soria	Guillada
Diego Manuel	Cerdán

and four others. They travelled with such speed that they overtook the fugitives and after meeting with some resistance captured more than forty of them. As it was night time the rest escaped, Captain Castro returning to the city with his prisoners. When Pero Alvarez heard what had occurred, he ordered them to be released and to be allowed to go where they liked, not being treated as prisoners.

Don Diego had also been received as Governor at Arequipa. But as Pero Alvarez was now acknowledged as Captain-general in the large city of Cuzco, while waiting for the captain Pedro Anzures de Campo Redondo to come from the town of La Plata and join him, he sent his Serjeant-major, Francisco Sánchez, to Arequipa, to persuade the citizens there to range themselves in the service of the King, for they must know clearly that Don Diego had assumed the government tyrannically and without the royal authority of His Majesty. Sánchez was also ordered to busy himself in collecting arms and men. There had arrived just then at the port of Arequipa one ship out of three or four that left Spain at the cost of the Bishop of Plasencia to

explore the Strait of Magallanes. The crews had suffered great hardships, some of the vessels were wrecked, and the captains died. Only this one ship of them all ever reached a port in Peru, and brought a few Spaniards.[1] Pero Alvarez thought they might come and join him. Cristóbal de Hervas was then lieutenant in Arequipa, on behalf of Don Diego. Presently Serjeant-major Francisco Sánchez set out for Arequipa to do what we have said.

CHAPTER XL

How the Licentiate Vaca de Castro arrived at the port of Buenaventura, and went from thence, with much difficulty, to the city of Cali, where the Adelantado Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, Governor for his Majesty, was staying; and of what he did there.

IT is necessary that we should now talk a little about the licentiate Vaca de Castro, for hitherto the narrative has not given him his proper place. Leaving for the time the story of events which took place in the cities of Lima and Cuzco we will observe that Vaca de Castro had found out where the port of Buenaventura lay, and ascertained that the road to the city of Cali, where the Adelantado Sebastián de Belalcázar then tarried was very difficult.[2]

[1] See *Hakluyt Society's vol.*, Series II, vol. xxviii, p. 159, for the expedition of the Bishop of Plasencia. It consisted of three small vessels commanded by Don Alonso de Camargo, and left Spain in August 1539. Camargo lost his own ship at the entrance of the first Narrows, in the Strait of Magellan. The second ship returned. Camargo went on in the third ship. He reached Valparaiso, put in at Quilca, the port of Arequipa, and finally reached Callao, the first ship that ever gained the west coast of South America by the Strait. Camargo settled at La Plata (Chuquisaca) and was put to death by Carbajal.

[2] Sebastián de Belalcázar, after exploring Popayán and Cali, and founding the cities, had gone to Spain to obtain a grant as Governor. Pascual de Andagoya, an original citizen of Panamá, was in Spain in 1538, and received a grant on the Pacific coast from the Gulf of San Miguel to the river San Juan, with the title of Adelantado. He landed at Buenaventura and marched to Cali and Popayán. These cities were

And having sent Merlo forward to announce his coming and the duty he was charged with in the Realm of Peru by his Majesty, he also requested that Pascual de Andagoya might be set at liberty. So Vaca de Castro arrived at that port of Buenaventura, where he only found four or five men, employed by the merchants who came from Tierra Firme. Everyone believed that Vaca de Castro brought powers with him which would be quite sufficient for any business that might present itself anywhere he might wish to pass, and so he himself said and announced.

Merlo, bearing the letter and authority of Vaca de Castro that we have mentioned, made the journey to Cali, where he gave the news to the Adelantado, who was on the point of starting for the new city of Cartago. He said the licentiate Vaca de Castro, President of the Royal Audience of Panamá, and Judge of Peru, had been driven by a storm into the port of Buenaventura; and that from thence he sent an order, in compliance with the petition of Don Juan de Andagoya, son of the Adelantado Don Pascual de Andagoya, that the latter was to be brought from Popayán, where he was kept under arrest, to Cali, where the Judge would soon arrive. He, Vaca de Castro, would hear the statements of both Governors, and deliver judgment. Merlo made known this order to the Adelantado Belalcázar who wrote to Francisco García de Tovar, his lieutenant at Popayán, to bring Andagoya to Cali. Then Belalcázar, knowing that Vaca de Castro was at the port of Buenaventura, and that he was in want of provisions, arranged to send along the necessary food and Indians, to enable him to travel. Belalcázar was about starting for the city of Cartago, to visit the regions discovered and conquered by

not in his jurisdiction, but he was justified in going there, in the absence of Belalcázar, owing to the disturbed state of the country. Meanwhile Belalcázar had obtained the governorship he sought, with the title of Adelantado. On finding Andagoya at Popayán, he had thrown him into prison.

the captain Jorge Robledo, but it appeared to him most proper to wait at Cali until Vaca de Castro should arrive, and his Majesty's commands be made known.

Vaca de Castro, with much help from the captain Cristóbal de Peña, started from the port, suffering from serious illness and, as there was no physician or surgeon in his company, he might have died. At the end of thirty-three days he arrived at the city of Cali, two Spaniards having been killed by tigers on the road, and seven others having died of hunger and fatigue. The Governor and all the citizens of Cali gave Vaca de Castro a very good reception, provided lodgings for himself and his followers, and supplied them freely with all they needed. Vaca de Castro was at Cali for three months, very ill; and both the Governors Belalcázar and Andagoya being at Cali together, to prevent any scandal arising between them, Vaca de Castro notified them by order that they must have no dispute on any subject, otherwise his Majesty would be ill served. As Vaca de Castro came with a keenness for money he bargained with Belalcázar to take over certain things he had brought, which were of little value, and pay for them at prices which could not be called cheap. Vaca de Castro sent his messengers to Quito, that his arrival might be known throughout Peru, his Majesty having appointed him Judge to investigate the past troubles between the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro and the [late] Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro. It was now three months since he had arrived at the city of Cali; and having ruled that the Adelantado Don Pascual de Andagoya should present himself before his Majesty and his Privy Council,[1] he now determined to go to Popayán, to pick up the direct route from thence to the Realm of Peru.

[1] Belalcázar at last allowed Andagoya to proceed to Buenaventura, with his brother-in-law Alonso de Peña, where they embarked for Panamá. Andagoya proceeded to Spain, having lost his government

CHAPTER XLI

How the President Cristóbal Vaca de Castro left the city of Cali for that of Popayán, and how he there heard of the death of the Marquis, from Lorenzo de Aldana who came in search of him.

AS soon as Vaca de Castro had recovered sufficiently to be able to travel, he was desirous of continuing his journey to Lima, where he expected to find the Marquis and make arrangements for carrying out his Majesty's instructions. He, therefore, spoke to the Adelantado Don Sebastián de Belalcázar saying that he wished to set out for Popayán, and asking that the necessary things might be provided by the way. Belalcázar complied with this request, and the Licentiate Vaca de Castro set out for the city of Popayán, which is twenty-two leagues from Cali, accompanied by his staff. On his arrival there he was made very welcome by the inhabitants and municipal authorities.

At the time when the Marquis was killed, Lorenzo de Aldana was at Quito, and the news was not long in reaching that city, as news will fly. Nevertheless Aldana had already set out to join Vaca de Castro. For there had been a delay of four months between the Judge's landing at Buenaventura and his arrival at Popayán, so that the news of his arrival reached Quito before that of the death of the Marquis. But the latter news came to Quito very soon after Aldana's departure. One of Aldana's servants named Almaraz, who had charge of his Indians and estate, made great haste to overtake him, and brought

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and 70,000 *castellanos de Oro* (over £140,000 of our money). In 1546 he again went out with Pedro de la Gasca, was at the battle of Sacsahuana, and died at Cuzco in 1548. See the *Narrative of Pascual de Andagoya* (*Hakluyt Society's vol.* 34 *for* 1865).

him word of it. When Aldana heard it he was deeply affected, and made still greater haste to reach the city of Popayán where Vaca de Castro then was. He arrived on a Sunday morning when the people had just gone to mass. He made his way into the church and at once reported himself to Vaca de Castro, who welcomed him, having been apprised of his good and meritorious services. But when Vaca de Castro heard that the Marquis was dead he could scarcely believe it true, yet he did not fail to consider that the Chile party, as conquered men who desired to avenge the death of their Adelantado, might have committed the murder. He was very glad that he carried a commission from his Majesty to govern the province and administer justice himself, in the event of the Marquis's death. Certainly he did not show much feeling on hearing of the event, although some believed this was his policy. On the same day he despatched messengers to the Adelantado Belalcázar, asking him not to go to Cartago or any where else, but to remain in the city until it was definitely known whether the news he had received of the death of the Marquis was true or false. Belalcázar replied that he would do what was ordered and not depart, however much it might seem desirable. We will now leave off writing of Vaca de Castro, and relate what was happening at Lima.

CHAPTER XLII

How Don Diego de Almagro ordered the secretary Antonio Picado to be tortured, believing that he would then admit that the Marquis owned some treasure; and how retribution was dealt to him.

I HAVE already recounted how Don Diego de Almagro had got the secretary Antonio Picado into his power. Often Don Diego on his own part, and Juan de Herrada on his, admonished him that if he knew where the Marquis had buried his treasure, which they believed to be great, he must tell them. For one might believe that if any friend of the Marquis knew the place, it must be his secretary. Antonio Picado answered that if the Marquis had any treasure, he could affirm that he did not know where it was. Though he made these excuses, he was not believed; as they were hostile to Picado for his former conduct, Juan de Herrada told him, in a great rage, that if he chose not to say where it was, let him know that they would kill him. He answered as we have said, affirming it with great oaths. When Almagro and Juan de Herrada saw that Picado would not tell them where the Marquis kept his treasure, they ordered the torture to be prepared for him. This was immediately done, and they put him to great torments. As the unhappy wretch knew not what to say, he made loud outcries, begging for death rather than be kept in such agony. Juan de Herrada said that he must tell them where the Marquis kept his silver and gold, and then they would do him no more hurt. The afflicted and oppressed Picado then answered that they should see if Hurtado, the servant of the Marquis, knew about it. That night they sent to arrest Hurtado, and said the same to him as to Picado, that they would kill him if he did not tell them where the treasure was. Hurtado answered that

the Marquis had no gold nor silver beyond what was found in his room, and that if *he* had it or knew where it was, he would tell them. Not believing his excuses they stripped him and put him on the rack, ready for torture. Juan de Herrada, because he had been his friend, or some other motive, did not consent that Hurtado should be tortured, but let him return to his house. After they had inflicted more dreadful tortures on Picado, seeing that they could get nothing out of him, they agreed to kill him, and on the eve of the festival of St. Jerome they sent to tell him to confess, for he must know that he only had that one day to live. Picado, feeling the approach of death, preferred it to further torments. He confessed with much contrition, and was married that night to his sweetheart Ana Suárez.

Next day, in the morning, they took him out of the prison on a mule without a saddle. He held a crucifix in his hands and, passing along the usual streets, he asked pardon of all. The contemplation of his downfall must make us feel how vain is the life of this world, and how the desire to accumulate riches and increase in honours or dignity consumes itself. Such must be the thoughts of those who saw Picado so sprightly, so richly attired, so wealthy, so trusted by the Governor, and possessing such absolute command! See him now! All his prosperity gone, he receives a public death, after having been tortured into the bargain. Since God shows himself so true in his judgment, it was His pleasure that Picado should meet this fate because he had never advised the Marquis rightly or as he should. One of the principal reasons why the governors of these Realms have come to such bad ends is that they trusted to ignorant, astute, and designing servants, more concerned to acquire wealth and show favour to their friends than to give their masters good advice and counsel as their duty points. Let those now living, therefore, and those who may have to govern in the future,

employ honest subordinates whom they know to be given to no noteworthy fault; and let them be sure about it, for, if otherwise, they will follow the same road as the rest. After the crier had proclaimed the reason of his death, Picado's head was cut off, and he was buried in the church of our Lady of Mercy.

Don Diego, by advice of his captains, ordered Don Alonso de Montemayor to go to the cities of Guamanga and Cuzco to collect men, and arm them against any need that might arise.

News reached Lima that the Captain Alonso de Alvarado, on receiving tidings of the death of the Marquis, had assembled the forces that were with him and with Pedro Barroso at Guanuco, and those with Juan Pérez de Guevara at Moyobamba, and that he felt himself strong enough, with their support, to raise the banner of the King pending Vaca de Castro's entry into the Realm. This news caused great consternation, although Juan de Herrada, Cristóbal de Sotelo, and the other leaders of the Chile party, did not wish to have encounters or battles, nor to do more, if his Majesty would not pardon the murder of the Marquis, than retire into the interior of Chile. There were among them, indeed, gentlemen of such determination, and soldiers of such mettle, that if envy among them had not gnawed into their entrails, with the desire to excel each other even unto death, they might have prevailed—outside the Realm. But within the same, holding it as they did by tyranny, they could not have avoided the punishment which God and the world are wont to mete out to those who usurp such a position, and commit similar atrocities.

Well, soon after Captain García de Alvarado had returned from the cities of Truxillo and San Miguel, a soldier who was much favoured by Francisco de Chaves had taken an Indian girl from another soldier who was

very friendly with Captain Cristóbal de Sotelo, who, as we have written, was Governor's Lieutenant in Lima. As Sotelo was very punctilious in affairs that concerned his honour, and anxious not to condone any injury, and the said soldier, moreover, was personally known to him, he sent to ask Captain Francisco de Chaves very civilly that, the soldier having taken the girl from him to whom she belonged with Chaves' assent, he would order her to be restored; since no other course would be seemly. Francisco de Chaves, with much arrogance and little courtesy, abused the man who was sent with the request, saying that it was not his pleasure that the soldier who had taken the girl should return her, for that she was his, and that a constable had better not be sent, because he would be ill-treated and would not get what he came for. Sotelo was wise, and recognized the evils that might arise from misunderstandings among the captains. Tempering his anger with the prudence of his character, he sent a second time to request that the girl might be returned to him to whom she belonged, and that if the other maintained that she was his, there should be an appeal to justice, which would not be denied to the rightful owner. Francisco de Chaves again answered rudely that the girl should not be returned by him who had her. Cristóbal de Sotelo was much enraged that he should be thus set at nought by Francisco de Chaves, and said that he felt great regret that there should be discord among them and party quarrels from which great evils must arise. He added that he was very glad he was not one of the murderers of the Marquis, and that if he followed Don Diego it was owing to the friendship he had for his father, which would not make him fail to obey the commands of his Majesty. After saying this he declared further that Francisco de Chaves must not think, that because with him was the courtesy and with Chaves the lack of it, he would come out of it in spite of Don Cristóbal.

Saying this before five or six of his friends, he went forth to Chaves' quarters to take away the girl, and Chaves' life, if he should defend it, or else, in testimony of his sense of right, to lose his own.

Oh misery! what is this that you do? Oh tyranny! what evils do you bring in your train? And you, oh captains of my nation! What moves you to bore and slash each other's entrails with the sharp poniard, or cutting sword? How I lament and deeply deplore that distinguished Spaniards should die for such sordid causes. Through whatever nation or region you might travel it should be said that you justly merit having been born on the banks of the Ebro. And only for others' advantage have you been thus ill advised. For without having fully discovered the secrets of the land, nor having made the barbarians to understand the service required from them, you raise wars in which most of yourselves are killed in evidence of your own folly, that new comers may triumph by your conquests and settlements, in which they have taken no part.

But to return to our narrative. On Cristóbal de Sotelo starting to go to the house of Francisco de Chaves, one of those present went to Juan de Herrada, to tell him, so that he might personally intervene and settle the quarrel; and prevent those captains from killing each other over an Indian girl. When Juan de Herrada heard this, he went to prevent what was thought might happen. He called Cristóbal and said that he did not wish him to go forward, for it was not consistent with his dignity that an Indian girl should move him to go against Francisco de Chaves. Sotelo replied that he had already done what was required of a gentleman in communicating with Chaves, who had not in any way acknowledged his error, but had abetted the abduction of the girl, and had even declared that if a constable came to his house he would only get a drubbing. Juan de Herrada told him to remain at home, for that he

himself would go to the house of Francisco de Chaves for the girl. On hearing this Sotelo stayed in his house; Juan de Herrada then went to that of Francisco de Chaves, and demanded the girl, being very angry. Though it went against the grain, he took her from the house and out of the keeping of the soldier who had taken her, and gave her to her first proprietor.

CHAPTER XLIII

How the Captains Francisco de Chaves and Francisco Núñez were made prisoners, and how Francisco de Chaves was put to death.

NOW this was the time when the funeral obsequies of the old Marquis ought to have been celebrated, but rather was it signalised by the commencement of the shedding of the blood of those who had spilled so much of his that his life ebbed away. The youthful Governor began to taste the bitter draughts which tyranny carries in its toils, for with it neither does friend prove loyal nor enemy merciful. Better had it been for him and his accomplices to await the Judge's coming and not have put the Marquis to death in that atrocious way. Even after his death no honour was shown him, as the reader has seen. On the contrary, the body was thrust into the bowels of the earth as if it had been that of a vile and contemptible man. With reference to this I would quote that speech of the Constable of Castille, Grand Master of Santiago, Don Alvaro de Luna. Seeing that there was a large hook placed where he was to be put to death, he asked the executioner what it was there for. The executioner said that it was to hang his head on after he was dead. Don Alvaro replied, snapping his fingers, "After I am dead do what ye will with the

body and head," meaning that at the moment of decapitation his soul would pass to where his deeds during this life had merited that it should.

Captain Francisco de Chaves, finding that Juan de Herrada had taken the Indian girl out of his house, against his will, took it as an affront, and an insult to himself. Arming himself and mounting his horse he went to the house of Don Diego de Almagro. They say that Chaves told Don Diego to take back the horse and arms he had received at his hands, but now brought back, for that he wanted them no longer, nor looked upon Don Diego as his friend. One insult had been put upon him by Don Diego's father and he had paid him well for it, the other was from the son, and he would pay him too. They say that he alluded to what happened at Guaytara when he was suspected of dealing with Hernando Pizarro, but this I was never able to verify nor can I believe, for Francisco de Chaves always showed himself a loyal friend to the Adelantado and an enemy to Hernando Pizarro.

Those who were in the room with Don Diego, believing that rage had made Chaves say those things, tried to appease him, admonishing him that he ought to see that the girl had been taken from her owner by one who had no right to her, and that to return her was quite proper. There could be no reason in throwing away the friendship of Don Diego, nor would it be reckoned to his credit. But he answered that he would never be a friend of Don Diego again, nor would he uphold his cause. When Juan de Herrada heard this he discreetly felt that it would not be wise to leave such a man free, when he had so openly refused to retract what he had done. He wanted to arrest him on the spot, but did not dare to do so because Francisco Núñez de Pedroso was a great friend of Chaves, and he was quartered in the barracks as captain of the troops, and it seemed possible he might take Chaves' part. So he went

covertly to where Francisco Núñez de Pedroso was and asked him to go and speak with Francisco de Chaves, since he was his friend, and persuade him not to talk so defiantly; and he told him what had happened. Francisco Núñez, believing that the intention of Juan de Herrada was no other than what he said, cheerfully consented and went at once and asked Francisco de Chaves, in the presence of Don Diego and the other captains, not to cease from being a friend of Don Diego; but he was unable to move Chaves from his resolve. On Don Diego and Juan de Herrada seeing this they turned to those present and asked what they advised. García de Alvarado answered that since Francisco de Chaves refused to be a friend of Don Diego they should arrest him. When Chaves heard this, looking towards García de Alvarado, he said that if that was his opinion they had better arrest him and there and then put him in irons. Francisco Núñez declared that if they arrested Don Francesco de Chaves, they must do the same with him.

For these reasons, or because he was on bad terms with Francisco de Chaves, when Francisco Núñez used those words Juan de Herrada said: "Be it as you order," and they were both immediately arrested and the irons clapped on them. For Herrada knew that Chaves was annoyed at his being General instead of Gómez de Alvarado (it is said that Herrada had been a servant to Don Pedro, Gómez's brother), because Chaves had said that it was wrong, where there were so many gentlemen, for Herrada to be General, and that for his own part he would not put up with it. When night came, as the prisoners had friends, they were sent on board a ship that was in the port lest any disturbance should occur. With them the bachelor Enríquez was sent because, as was afterwards said, it was by his advice that Francisco de Chaves had taken the Indian girl, and he had been fomenting enmity against

Don Diego. Presently, next morning, there *was* some disturbance at the imprisonment of Francisco de Chaves and Francisco Núñez, some denouncing it, while to others it seemed well. There were debates and wrangling. When Juan de Herrada knew of this, he took counsel with some whom he deemed friends, and they agreed that Francisco de Chaves should be killed and Francisco Núñez banished. Next day, by order of Don Diego and Juan de Herrada, they went to the port very secretly, that it might not be known, to put Francisco de Chaves to death. The latter was now sorry for what he had done, but when they told him to confess, he was amazed. It is reported that he said that he had two seats, one in heaven and the other in hell, and that the divine Power had already decided which he must go to; he, therefore, did not want to confess. Others aver that what he said was that since his own friends were killing his body the devil might take his soul. It is likely enough that he may have said either of those things, for it could not be believed that a man who had shown so little respect for the holy sacrament was to meet with any easier death than this. Having said it, he was killed by the executioner, and the bachelor Enríquez fared in the same way. Francisco Núñez was banished in the same ship on board of which Doña Inés, the wife of Francisco Martín de Alcántara, and the children of the Marquis had been embarked, for reasons which were examined and approved.[1] They also banished Diego de Peralta, a citizen of La Paz, one who has rendered his Majesty much service; and it was ordered that they should all go in that ship.

As it was now many days since Pero Alvarez Holguin had taken charge of the city of Cuzco and turned out Gabriel de Rojas, who held it for Don Diego, and was col-

[1] They seem to have been landed at Payta, near which port they had an interview with Vaca de Castro.

lecting men to go forth and seek for those who had killed the Marquis, the news travelled to Guamanga, and it was soon known in the city of Lima. When Don Diego and his followers heard it they were much alarmed at finding that Alonso de Alvarado on the one hand, and Pero Alvarez on the other, had sided against them. They consulted together, and it was determined that they should march into the mountains and rout Pero Alvarez, if they should meet him, or else proceed to the city of Cuzco. When this had been settled, they collected all the arms and horses they could, to set out from the city of Lima well prepared, and they appointed captains, ensigns, and the rest of the officers who were to have charge of the war.

CHAPTER XLIV

How, when the death of the Marquis was known at Plata, they raised the banner of the King, and how the captain Pedro Anzures, and other residents there, set out to join Pero Alvarez Holguin.

AT the time of the death of the Marquis, the Captain Pedro Anzures was his lieutenant in the town of Plata. When he set out to penetrate into the country of the Chunchos, as already related, he received such important information respecting the Rio de la Plata and the many populous provinces on its banks that he desired to discover some way into them, which would not be too difficult, by crossing the Andes. From the time when the Marquis appointed him his Lieutenant, he amply showed his valour in his wars with the Indians, and his prudence in maintaining the peaceful relations they had promised to abide by, not consenting that any harm should be done to them. In the rich mines of Porco there were Spaniards who extracted a quantity of silver. Entertaining the desire

I have mentioned, to discover that land and great river, Pedro Anzures had gone, with some people, as far as the country of the Juries, which is to the east, to ascertain the character of the country in that direction as a practicable route for penetrating further. In that year, Captain Garcilaso de la Vega and Luis Perdomo were *alcaldes* of the town of Plata, Pedro de Hinojosa and Diego López de Zúñiga, Francisco de Almendras and Juan de Caravajal were *regidores*, and Antonio Alvarez was *alguazil mayor*. A man came to the town as a messenger from Gómez de Tordoya; for Sancho Perero, sent by Pero Alvarez, had not yet arrived. He told the *alcaldes* the news of the death of the Marquis. They all received it with the very greatest sorrow, and, although they would have liked to keep it secret until the return of Pedro Anzures, they could not do so, for it became known at once to all the inhabitants. They all felt grief that a Governor of the King, and a captain so old in the conquests of the Indies, should have been so barbarously murdered. There was a great excitement among them, for they did not know what course to pursue, nor whether Pedro Anzures would return from his expedition or not. The municipal officers assembled, and after having raised the banner for the king, they agreed to send a messenger to Pedro Anzures begging for his immediate return, as the tidings required it. They sent the news by one Marchena, who travelled quickly until he reached the place where Pedro Anzures was. The latter was deeply grieved, and returned quickly to the town, where several meetings of the municipality were held, but nothing was settled. For the *regidores* wanted to nominate that righteous cavalier Gonzalo[1] de la Vega as captain, or else Diego de Rojas. But Pedro Anzures maintained that it was his place, because he had been Lieutenant there. At these meetings

[1] *Sic*—a mistake for Garcilaso.

there were many bickerings, and Pedro Anzures had words with the *alcalde* Perdomo.

Pedro de Hinojosa spoke so well at one of the meetings and with such effect that all determined to think of nothing but the King's service, and agreed that since Pedro Anzures was a gentleman and a gallant one who had been the Marquis' Lieutenant, he should be Captain. Pedro Anzures then raised the banner of his Majesty, and delivered it to Alonso de Loaisa as ensign. Before this the captain Garcilaso had gone to the mines at Porco to collect what men and arms might be there, and silver to divide amongst those who were about to go to serve the King. Soon all were in readiness. Sancho Perero, the messenger sent by Pero Alvarez Holguin, then arrived and related to those gentlemen what had taken place, and how Holguin had been chosen General to put down the tyranny of Almagro. Having delivered the letters to Pedro Anzures, he went back with others that were entrusted to him. When those who were to go were ready to start, and mounted on good horses, Pedro Anzures addressed them in a gracious speech, appealing to them to bear in mind that they were gentlemen and servants of the King, and that the evil committed by the men of Chile in tyrannizing over the country was very grave and deserving of severe punishment, which they, as loyal men, must inflict. Having added other observations on the subject, Captain Pedro Anzures left Francisco de Almendras as Chief Justice, Gabriel de Mendoza as *alcalde* and Antonio Alvarez as *alguazil mayor*. He then set out from the loyal town with fifty-two horsemen, among whom there went:

Garcilaso de la Vega	Lope de Mendieta
Pedro de Hinojosa	Alonso de Loaisa (ensign)
Gaspar Rodríguez de Campo Redondo[1]	Diego Centeno
	Luis Perdomo

[1] Brother of Pedro Anzures.

Alonso de Mendoza	Francisco de Tapia
Juan de Caravajal	Hernán Núñez de Segura
Diego de Rojas	Luis de Rivera
Alonso de Camargo[1]	Alonso Pérez Castillejo
Lope de Mendoza	Francisco Retamoso
Diego Lope de Zúñiga	Hernando de Aldana
Diego de Almendras	Alonso Manjarrés

and others to the number I mentioned.

They proceeded on their journey until they arrived at the villages "del Rey," whence, leaving the baggage with some people, Captain Pedro Anzures went by way of Hatun-colla to the city of Arequipa, to collect all the men and arms that he could. He got there just when Sergeant-major Francisco Sánchez, was coming in with the men sent by Pero Alvarez Holguin.

As the night had not yet run its course nor the day shown any sign of light, and the two parties entered the place one on one side and the other on another, loosening their arquebuses, they well nigh came to blows. They recognized each other in time, however, and were rejoiced. Though some showed themselves neutral in that city others joined the captains in the service of the King without wavering, and took the road with them back to Cuzco. On the way, Loaisa gave up the office of ensign under Pedro Anzures, and Diego Centeno took it over and carried the banner into Chupas. Finally, they all arrived safely at Cuzco. The Captain Pero Alvarez Holguin, with Gómez de Tordoya and the others, gave them a hearty welcome. There was much rejoicing at Cuzco, and all promised obedience to Pero Alvarez, and accepted him as General. He nominated Pedro Anzures as Captain of Lances, with Garcilaso de la Vega.

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[1] The captain of the ship that arrived from Spain. See p. 137.

CHAPTER XLV

Of the things that were done by Captain Alonso de Alvarado after he had raised the banner of the King.

IT has already been related how the captain Alonso de Alvarado held it to be a great injury to the service of the King that the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro should have been put to death; and here he had raised the banner in the royal name, and collected troops to strengthen his position in the highlands where he was awaiting the arrival of the President Vaca de Castro, who, it was now publicly known, was coming as Judge of *residencia* in the affairs of Almagro and Pizarro. As the news spread, Don Diego de Almagro and Juan de Herrada wrote to persuade Alvarado to espouse their side, to which he answered as already stated. When it became known in the cities of Trujillo and San Miguel that Alonso de Alvarado had raised the banner in the name of the King, some joined him who, holding the deed done by Don Diego in abhorrence, did not wish to be on a side which would support his party or agree in its views, but were unanimous in the service of the King. When Alonso de Alvarado knew that García de Alvarado had gone to Piura, he wished to rout him before he could return to Lima; for if this could be achieved it would be a great disaster for the men of Chile, who had such confidence in his prowess. With this determination Alvarado ordered a soldier named Carrillo, who had gone to Trujillo for arms, as we have related, to proceed to Caxamarca, where Melchor Verdugo, and to Guamachuco, where Aguibera, were proprietors, and had some parties of Indians who knew the country well, to get them to help him, as he wished to defeat

and kill García de Alvarado and those who were with him. Verdugo wished to be neutral, by what they say, and answered Carrillo equivocally. They also say that when García de Alvarado passed by there, he brought him one or two very good horses and some arquebuses, and that it was by Verdugo's advice that García de Alvarado hurried his departure. And furthermore, that although Verdugo received letters from Alonso de Alvarado calling upon him to join, he would not do so.

When Alonso de Alvarado found that he had not managed to entrap García de Alvarado, knowing that a great force was being assembled at Lima to march against him and to find the Judge Vaca de Castro, he decided to depart from the city where he was, to join the Judge, who was believed to be now in Quito. He marched as far as Cotabamba, where he halted because he deemed the place strong, and one which could not be attacked by his enemies, and whence, should they come in force, he could retreat further inland. He then sent other messengers to Vaca de Castro, reporting that he, Alvarado, and his followers were well, and urging the Judge to come quickly, because as soon as the masses knew of his arrival in the Realm many would come forward to join him and serve the King.

Let us now leave Alonso de Alvarado, and say that after the captain Pero Alvarez Holguin had arrived at the city of Cuzco, and been publicly received there as General and proclaimed by the sound of trumpets in the great square, he devoted himself to preparing arms and getting men together. When Pedro Anzures arrived he did the same. Don Alonso de Montemayor then arrived in that city. He had come by order of Don Diego de Almagro to speak to Holguin on his behalf. He was to say that he was aware of the movements which were taking place; that, putting other things aside, Holguin should conform to his party; and that as he had always shown himself a

friend of the Adelantado Almagro and his supporters he should now be one of the avengers of his death. If Pero Alvarez had not entered Cuzco he should take the city for him (Don Diego); and, collecting all the arms and men possible, he should then return to Lima. Don Alonso did not put forward any of these arguments, for when he arrived at Cuzco he found Pero Alvarez within, and although he spoke some things to him on Don Diego's part, he, like a prudent cavalier, was very guarded in what he said, and evinced a desire to serve the King. But Pero Alvarez arrested him for the time being, and had a secret watch kept on him to prevent him from returning to Lima.

CHAPTER XLVI

How the President Vaca de Castro quitted Popayán, to go to the city of Quito.

WE recounted in former chapters how, while the Licentiate Vaca de Castro was in the city of Popayán, Lorenzo de Aldana brought news of the death of the Marquis Pizarro in the city of Lima at the hands of the men of Chile, and how, when this was known to Vaca de Castro, he wrote to the Adelantado Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, who was then at Cali, desiring him not to go to the city of Cartago, nor to Anzerma for the present. Vaca de Castro was very anxious to know for certain if the news was true. At this juncture one Ordas, and Juan de Valdivieso, citizens of Cuzco, arrived, who, jointly with Diego Maldonado and other settlers in Peru, had embarked at Panamá for that Realm. When they had reached the coast of Peru they received the news of the Marquis's death; and, as the Judge had landed at the port of Buenaventura, they gave up their voyage further southwards, and went inland to

Quito to find him. Thence they went on to Pasto, and, together with Villalva, they proceeded to Popayán, where they found Vaca de Castro, and related to him what was going on; how Don Diego had assumed the *rôle* of governor of the realm; how he had sent one of his captains, named García de Alvarado, to range the coast, and even to get the Judge himself into his clutches in order to detain or kill him; how he had taken and killed Alonso de Cabrera and others, and had captured and carried back the Licentiate García de León a prisoner. When Vaca de Castro heard this news he became quite convinced that the Marquis had been murdered, and that Don Diego was set up as Governor. He wrote again to Belalcázar therefore, explaining that the Marquis had been murdered, and that Don Diego had shamelessly and insolently got himself installed as Governor, and had been so received at Lima. Vaca de Castro called upon Belalcázar, who had always been a faithful servant of his Majesty and was the King's Governor and Captain-general, to collect as many men and arms as possible and march to Popayán, where the Judge awaited him.

People allege that when Belalcázar read this letter from Vaca de Castro, he was much worried, and that it was more from fear than from good-will that he obeyed the summons. This seems likely, because he always showed himself lukewarm in whatever things occurred, and in the letters he sent to the cities nearest the coast he wrote that he was going back because he could not do otherwise, but would soon return. He had another reason for wishing to go down stream but not up, which was that according to positive news received at Cali, Captain Jorge Robledo, the founder of those towns and cities, with all those who had been his followers before, had espoused the royalist cause, and the Adelantado was anxious to arrest him. However, Belalcázar replied to the Licentiate that he would be happy

to come to Popayán at once and do what might be required of him, and that he would bring as many men as he could, although he then had very few in the city. He got ready as best he was able, and set out for the city of Popayán, accompanied by some of his servants and friends, and other inhabitants of Cali. At Popayán he was received by the President Vaca de Castro.

Having assembled the principal people who were there, the Licentiate Vaca de Castro displayed a Royal *Cedula* of his Majesty, whereby it was decreed that if the Marquis Pizarro should die during Vaca de Castro's voyage to Peru, or after his arrival there, he, Vaca de Castro, was empowered to take over the government of the provinces and be his Majesty's Governor there, with the same full powers as those granted to the Marquis. When they had seen the *Cedula* there was some argument as to what had best be done to take the control from Don Diego, who held it against the royal will. There were some who advised that Vaca de Castro should go back to Buenaventura and thence to Panamá, where he might assemble a fleet and a large force with which to go in strength against the men of Chile and punish them for the crime they had committed in putting the Marquis to death and seizing the country. Lorenzo de Aldana was not of this opinion. He maintained that Vaca de Castro should take the road and enter Peru with all possible despatch; for although Don Diego had assumed the name of Governor, there were in Peru so many loyal subjects of his Majesty that they would not fail for any reason to enlist themselves in his service. To go to Panamá would cause much mischief, and would be of no use. After they had argued about what should be done, Vaca de Castro decided to go on to Quito, and ordered Belalcázar to go with him to Peru. While preparations were being made for the journey many copies were made of the royal *Cedula* of his Majesty, and despatched by

messengers to all parts that the President's coming might be known, as well as the will of his Majesty to the effect that in the event of the death of the Marquis, Vaca de Castro was to be Governor. Then, with the following he had, Vaca de Castro set out for Quito, taking with him Lorenzo de Aldana, who he expected would be very useful. Continuing the journey they came to Villaviciosa de Pasto, where they found several persons willing to go with the President to serve his Majesty.

Then, when the messengers sent by Vaca de Castro from Popayán arrived at Quito, and the royal *Cedula* of the King our master was seen there, the Captain Pedro de Puelles, who was lieutenant there, and the *alcaldes* assembled in council; and they acknowledged Vaca de Castro as Governor, sending messengers to inform him, and offering to go with him until he should have carried out all that his Majesty had ordered. When the Governor Vaca de Castro learnt that he had been acknowledged at Quito he rejoiced at this good beginning, and pressed on with all speed to arrive there.

CHAPTER XLVII

How the Governor Vaca de Castro on his way to Quito arrived at a village called Carangue, and there received letters from the captain Alonso de Alvarado, by which he learned that Alvarado had risen against Almagro, in the name of the King; from which news he derived great pleasure.

VACA DE CASTRO was now very anxious to reach Quito, in order to increase his force, and to receive more complete news. Pressing forward he made such good progress that he quickly arrived at *Carangue*, which is fourteen leagues from Quito. Here a messenger met him with news that gave him no little joy. Looking over the letters he

received, he learnt that the captain Alonso de Alvarado, who was Lieutenant for the Marquis in the city of La Frontera, had raised the banner in the royal name as soon as he heard of the murder, holding it to have been a shameful deed by which his Majesty would be ill served, and had himself collected all the troops he could, and stationed himself in a strong position prepared for defence, where it would be very difficult for the enemy to injure him. Vaca de Castro now gained complete knowledge of all that we have just related, which Alonso de Alvarado sent to tell him. All those who came with the Governor saw the letters and heard the news; and they held what Alvarado had done to be a good beginning, and the news to be gladsome. Vaca de Castro then sent the messenger back with all speed to the Chachapoyas provinces, where Alvarado was, with a copy of the royal *Cedula* and a gracious letter praising the step Alvarado had taken in raising the royal banner, and saying that no less was to be expected from so gallant and loyal a cavalier. The Governor also desired that news of his own coming should be sent to Lima, Cuzco, and all the other principal places in Peru. Soon after despatching this messenger, the Governor Vaca de Castro arrived in the city of Quito, where he was very honorably received, and with great solemnity, as Governor and Captain-general. As soon as he was established there, he proceeded to send other messengers to all quarters of the Realm, that his arrival in it might be known, and announcing that he was then at Quito.

Diego Maldonado, a citizen of Cuzco, arriving on the coast and hearing of the death of the Marquis, and that Don Diego had assumed the *rôle* of Governor, it seemed to him undesirable to go farther. He, therefore, proceeded to Quito to join the Governor Vaca de Castro. Diego de Peralta, and other settlers in Peru, did the same. Although the Adelantado Belalcázar came with the Governor, he did

so not willingly, be it understood, owing to the reasons already explained; but he always relied upon the opinion of Lorenzo de Aldana, and was guided by his counsel. Report quickly spread the news to the maritime towns of Puerto Viejo, Guayaquil, and San Miguel, of the arrival of Vaca de Castro at Quito, and of how he had been received there as Governor and was making a call for troops. Many, with the desire to serve his Majesty, went to join him; and others, who had been neutral, came forward at the King's call and for his service, and they therefore went to Quito to accompany Vaca de Castro and serve under him.

When the Governor heard that Gonzalo Pizarro had gone to explore the *Canela* with more than 200 men, and among them many accustomed to war, he called one Gonzalo Martín, a citizen of Quito and an old *conquistador*, and ordered him to go with twenty or thirty men well equipped, and push into the *Canela* by the same route as Gonzalo. He was diligently to endeavour to inform Gonzalo of the murder of his brother the Marquis by the men of Chile, and that he, Vaca de Castro, had come in the King's name to govern the province and execute judgment on the guilty. He, therefore, called upon Gonzalo Pizarro to return with the men under his command, to help punish Don Diego for what he had done. But although this Gonzalo Martín succeeded in getting the message through to Gonzalo, he was not himself able to reach him. Vaca de Castro also heard that the captain Pedro de Vergara was in the region of Bracamoros with troops. So he sent one Sandoval, with eight or ten Spaniards, to carry word of his arrival and to warn Vergara that the interests of the King's service required him to proceed at once with his men, and join in marching against Don Diego, who had occupied Lima. Although the province of Chaparra and the Paltas were in revolt, and the natives were very daring, Sandoval and his men passed through all the disturbed country, crossing

by rugged tracks over difficult mountain ranges, until they reached the place where Captain Vergara was, and told him the news they brought and what had happened in the land. When Vergara heard all this, being desirous of serving the King against the murderers of the Marquis, he prepared to set out from thence.

CHAPTER XLVIII

Of what else was done by the General Pero Alvarez Holguin, and how he departed from Cuzco.

IN previous chapters we related how Pero Alvarez Holguin was received in the city of Cuzco as General, and how Don Alonso de Montemayor had arrived there with despatches from Don Diego. Although he had written word of his coming, and that he had been sent by Don Diego, confidence was not felt in Don Alonso. The Adelantado Almagro had always thought highly of him, and he went with the Adelantado to Chile; moreover, he was on his side at the battle of Las Salinas, so it was feared that he might try to gain men over to Don Diego's party. He tried, indeed, to slip away from Cuzco, because he was told, before Pedro Anzures arrived, that some men who were not on very good terms with himself, were coming from the town of Plata in that leader's company, and he feared, in those troublous times, they might seek to kill him. Hence he tried to escape. But Pero Alvarez presently took measures to keep him in hand, and ordered his arrest, treating him liberally as his position deserved.

Pedro Anzures having arrived, and the captains having been appointed, it was found that the force numbered 300 men—including mounted pikemen, arquebusiers, and musketeers. News had come that his Majesty had appointed

the licentiate Vaca de Castro to be Judge, and that he had actually arrived at Buenaventura, and must by now be at Quito. So leaving a sufficient force behind to uphold Justice in the King's name, it was decided to set out from Cuzco with the intention of giving battle to Almagro and his followers if they should cross their path; while, if not, they would march on until they could join Vaca de Castro wherever they might meet him. They began the march to Guamanga in good order, always throwing out scouts to reconnoitre in case there should be signs of an enemy's approach.

Were one ordered to enumerate the great evils, injuries, robberies, oppression and ill-treatment inflicted on the natives during these operations, without exaggeration, there would never be an end of it, for they took no more thought about killing Indians than as if they were useless beasts, nor stopped to consider that Christ, our God, was placed on the Cross for them as well as for us. If the captains wished to place some check on such great evils they were powerless to do so; for in past disturbances and civil wars soldiers have always held to robbery and profit. If a remedy was attempted they mutinied, and passed over from one camp to the other; or they stayed away in the villages, if they were not allowed to follow their own devices. In very truth we may in some measure acquit them of blame, for the country is so rough and so devoid of beasts of burden that many must travel afoot, through having nothing to ride. There are also uninhabited wilds where it is necessary, owing to the great cold, to carry tents and means of subsistence, so that where it is done with moderation, I would not condemn the employment of Indian carriers. But since my readers know what I can vouch for, I do not wish to say more on this subject than that if a man had need of one pig he killed twenty, if four Indians were wanted he took a dozen. To speak quite plainly, there

were many who made the poor Indians carry their public women in hammocks borne on their shoulders.

After leaving Cuzco the General Pero Alvarez Holguin travelled until he reached Guamanga, where Don Diego's deputy was one Vasco de Guevara. He, fearing that he might receive some ill-treatment, absented himself from the city, and concealed himself among the mountains. But some soldiers sent out by Pero Alvarez to search for him, found him, and brought him back. Then Pero Alvarez got himself accepted as General in Guamanga, and after he had established order and settled the city in the service of His Majesty he departed, accompanied by some citizens and others who were soldiers from that city. General Pero Alvarez followed the royal road of the Incas, marching always with scouts in advance, until he arrived within half a league of Parcos. He then desired all the captains, cavaliers, gentlemen, and soldiers gathered under his banner to acknowledge him afresh as their General and swear him in as such. This public solemnity was there celebrated. They then discussed what should next be done. Some said that they should go and give battle to Don Diego, who had already left Lima, as we shall presently tell. Others disagreed, saying that it would be better to continue their march to Caxamarca, where they would obtain news of the Judge, and, in conjunction with his men, they would be strong enough to resist the enemy, who had been busying themselves only with increasing their forces, and renewing their arms. Finally they agreed to continue their journey, and join forces with Vaca de Castro and with the captain Alonso de Alvarado.

Alonso de Toro, the citizen of Cuzco, pretending that he was going back in search of some Indian girls, left the camp. They say that the citizens of Cuzco were dissatisfied with the nomination of Holguin as their General, and that this person had some quarrels here with Don Pedro Puerto-

carrero ; and things came to such a pass that Holguin took his horses and arms away and would have turned him out of the camp. The other captains intervening, however, peace was restored ; and Alonso de Toro came back into camp, and they continued their journey. We will now leave them, and speak of the departure of Don Diego from Lima.

CHAPTER XLIX

How Don Diego de Almagro, hearing the news about Pero Alvarez, left the city of Lima, by the advice of his captains, and of the officers and men he took with him.

DON Diego and his followers were much alarmed at the news that Pero Alvarez Holguin had been nominated General in the city of Cuzco, with Gómez de Tordoya as Camp Master, as well as at the news respecting the proceedings of Alonso de Alvarado and other occurrences. Their principal men assembled to decide what should be done. Gómez de Alvarado and Juan de Sayavedra were discontented that Juan de Herrada should be the General, and that they should be under his orders, he having been a common man and a private soldier. They were much displeased with Don Diego, and although they were present at some of the meetings, it was not willingly nor with the desire with which they were credited. There were different opinions as to the course to be pursued. Some thought that they should advance against Alonso de Alvarado and rout him. Others were in favour of descending along the coast road to capture or kill Vaca de Castro, and so to increase their army as to be strong enough to defeat those who had shown themselves to be enemies; then to wait and see how his Imperial Majesty would dispose these affairs. If a rigorous mandate should be sent

out against them, they could then retreat beyond the river Maule. But they were unable to agree upon any of those plans, and finally the proposal of Cristóbal de Sotelo was deemed the best. It was that they should go and meet Pero Alvarez Holguin and defeat him, as he could not have more than three hundred men; and then from the plains march to the important city of Cuzco, where they could gain information of the arrival of Vaca de Castro, and of his further movements, and learn the view he took of things. Having decided to quit Lima the captains sent twelve Spaniards to the province of Jauja to speak with the Guancas,[1] as they wished to pass through their province, so as to ensure mutual trust and friendship with them, to arrange about supplies, and to induce them to send advice of the coming of Pero Alvarez and his party if they should hear of it. Don Diego and his captains then began to collect arms, prepare powder, and make arquebuses; holding war to be certain, and not doubting that many of them must die, since they were so vengeful towards one another. The banners were displayed and the beating of drums heralded the war which the fifes proclaimed. And so all began to prepare for an early departure from the city.

Oh! what it was to see the noble Spanish youth then in Lima about to follow the banners of Chile. What a many cavaliers of good family, so adorned with graces and talent, some of them of martial mien, and holding their lives so cheap, provided that the gossip Fame would not leave them in the obscurity of oblivion, nor immortal Memory omit to bear witness in writing of their valour. Oh! he who has seen them traversing territories only limited by the Strait,[2] must be able to say that their fame is more than memorable, or failing in ability to embrace all

[1] The Quichua tribe which inhabited the Jauja province.

[2] Of Magellan.

this, he could at least record their fortitude against barbarous nations living in regions beyond where the sun pursues its course.[1] And since I shall have to make mention of the names of the principal leaders when I come to the cruel battle of Chupas, I will hold over until then what the course of my work does not offer an appropriate place for discoursing on here.

Now that all were ready to depart from Lima, furnished with all the arms and horses that could be collected they summoned the factor Illán Suárez de Caravajal and some others to go with them, and quitted the city. The reverend Father Fr. Tomás de San Martín, Provincial of the Dominicans, also went with them. Juan Alonso de Bádajoz was left at Lima as deputy for the Governor

Leaving Lima they marched until they were a league and a half from the city, where they resolved to nominate their leaders. Although it went against the grain with many, they yielded obedience to Juan de Herrada[2] as their General, and other officers were appointed as follows:

Captains of cavalry	Cristóbal de Sotelo
„ „	*Juan Tello*[3]
„ „	*García de Alvarado*[3]
Captains of infantry	DIEGO DE HOCES[2]
„ „	MARTINCOTE[2]
„ „	CARDENAS[2]
„ „	*Juan de Olea*[3]
Serjeant Major	*Suárez*[3]
Ensign-general	Gonzalo Pereyra

The whole force numbered 517 Spaniards, all very brilliant.[4] They were mustered and passed in review, and it

[1] *I.e.*, the tropics. [2] Actual murderers of the Marquis.

[3] Accomplices who waited outside.

[4] "*Muy lucidos.*" It is to be feared that the prejudices of Cieza de León were very strong.

was found that there were 180 cavalry, 100 arquebusiers and musketeers, the rest pikemen with some halberdiers, and they had five pieces of artillery.

At this time Juan de Herrada fell ill. It was said that the reason was that Juan Balsa put poison into his food. But what is known for certain is, that he was an old man, and for a year his weapons had never quitted his person, and this illness came upon him as a break-up. As it got worse he travelled with much difficulty. So they went on until they came to Guarochiri; where the reverend Fr. Tomás de San Martín and the captain Diego de Agüero left them, by permission of Don Diego. Juan de Sayavedra and Gómez de Alvarado, and the factor, went with them as far as Jauja, and returned from thence by stealth to Lima. At Guarochiri Juan de Herrada became much reduced by his illness, and seeing that he could not personally govern the camp, he spoke with Don Diego and with the captains, and advised them to accept the captains Cristóbal de Sotelo and García de Alvarado as Generals and leaders. This was ill-planned advice, and could not turn out well. An empire, however wide and great it may be, cannot be duly governed by two heads. And how much the less so where there is only a handful of people to be governed? But as it is not for me to represent the things done by those who were in Peru at that time as having been wisely and prudently ordered, I shall merely set them down as they happened, and after the manner in which they ordered them.

CHAPTER L

How the General Pero Alvarez Holguin, after he had been accepted and sworn as General near Parcos, continued his march in the direction of Jauja; and how Gaspar Rodríguez de Camporedondo, while reconnoitring the country, captured the men who were in that province on behalf of Don Diego.

IN the preceding chapters we mentioned how Captain Pero Alvarez Holguin, after he had been sworn in as Captain General, moved from the place where he was, with the intention of approaching the province of Jauja to obtain fuller knowledge of the proceedings of the men of Chile. Those twelve men sent by Don Diego from Lima, had arrived at Jauja to attend to the things we have said they were sent to do. They endeavoured to cement their friendship with the Guancas. But those Indians are very knowing, and were already aware of the arrival of Vaca de Castro, and of how Alonso da Alvarado had declared in Chachapoyas, and Pero Alvarez in Cuzco against the insurgents. So they concluded that it would be prudent to keep in with the Pachacama party. They were asked whether they had received word or knew anything of whether the Christians of Cuzco were coming. They replied that they knew nothing. And though they were well aware that Pero Alvarez was near their valley, they would not tell. Indeed certain Indians went to Pero Alvarez to report the state of affairs, and on this knowledge he sent Gaspar Rodríguez de Camporedondo to Jauja, to reconnoitre and see if any agents of Don Diego were there; and if so to arrest them. Gaspar Rodríguez, keen to serve the King, set out for Jauja, and surprised the Spaniards there at night and made them prisoners. He returned with them to Pero Alvarez, who ordered two to be hanged. He then

took counsel with his officers, and they resolved to deceive the enemy by telling the truth. It was in this way. As they would pass a place quite near the city of Lima, it would be natural to believe that they intended to march in and occupy the city and take possession of it. But if they should give out that they were going on by the mountain road, they would not be believed; and the enemy would come out the more readily to seek them. And thus they would be able to edge off on the road to Caxamarca without danger. So Pero Alvarez released the aforesaid Chile men, and told them to say to Don Diego and his followers that they ought to content themselves with the wrong they had already done, and not lay themselves out to commit more misdeeds; for punishment would surely overtake them. He was marching to Caxamarca because he did not wish to contend with them or give battle—not from any fear of them, but to see whether, having fallen into the error they had, they would turn to seek pardon from the King. Then, as I said, he sent them away and, entering the province of Jauja, he spoke to the Guancas, admonishing them that they should be his loyal friends, and not those of the men of Chile, who were going about opposing the King's interest. After saying some other things to them Pero Alvarez presently departed from Jauja.

Well, let us return to Don Diego and his people, who were marching towards Jauja in good order, for they had now received news that their agents had been made prisoners. They wanted to learn the facts from one who met them and, thinking that he spoke with some reserve, Cristóbal de Sotelo put him to the torture. He then admitted that Pero Alvarez was coming with three hundred Spaniards, that he was bringing with him Don Alonso de Montemayor and Vasco de Guevara,[1] and that they were

[1] Two old captains who served under the elder Almagro.

on the road near to Bombon. Juan de Herrada was ill; but from a soldier named Zamarrilla, a swift goer who was wont to make his journeys in the dress of an Indian so as not to be known, he got word that Pero Alvarez was certainly marching straight to Bombon and that, being desirous to avoid a battle, he had ordered Zamarrilla, on pain of severe punishment, to say nothing to Don Diego or to the captains. When the others whom Pero Alvarez had sent arrived and confirmed the truth of that general's march, the captains and foremost men of them assembled to decide upon what should be done. Cristóbal de Sotelo understood the wiliness of his enemies very well. He said "They want to deceive us with the truth, and what they really intend is to effect a junction with Alvarado. In my opinion we ought to intercept them, for we are quite able to do so." Saying this, he ordered that they should move to encounter the enemy by a short cut leading to the main road. Juan de Herrada, since he did not want to have a battle, would not consent; but made various excuses, saying that they should go to Jauja, and that there was time enough to follow them, if they really had taken the road to Bombon. So, as they would not follow the opinion and advice of Cristóbal de Sotelo, they moved on in good order towards Jauja, and marched until they reached the valley. As they were under the dual command of Cristóbal de Sotelo and García de Alvarado there could not be good management, because if one gave an order it seemed inexpedient to the other, and he ordered the contrary. We have said in other places that Sotelo was judicious. He saw that if he and García de Alvarado were both to be in command, the cause must be lost. He therefore said that, in view of this evil, he desired no other authority than his personality, apart from a military rank, secured to him. He added that García de Alvarado was a cavalier of such high standing that he was well able to

undertake the office of General alone and, with the advice of his captains, he could conduct any war as might be necessary. What Sotelo said appeared good to all, and García de Alvarado remained sole General, although most of the soldiers, and even most of the captains, regretted that Sotelo was not their leader. For Sotelo knew well how to treat soldiers, and while keeping strict discipline he was nevertheless beloved.

Pero Alvarez, with his people, continued the march to Bombon, much pleased at having passed through the valley of Jauja. He always sent on his scouts in advance of the main body, and a captain and some light, active men were always with the rear guard, so that if the enemy should follow in pursuit they could not take him by surprise and rob the baggage. They marched in good order, always keeping a bright look out.

When the men of Chile arrived at Jauja, Cristóbal de Sotelo having resigned, and García de Alvarado being in sole command, the captains again met to consult over what should be done. There was great regret that Pero Alvarez had not been pursued, for from Pariacaca they could have turned his front and cut him off. They decided to follow him in very light order, leaving their baggage behind. They set out briskly after the Cuzco party; but the country was very rough, and the fury of the winter was not yet over, the heavens discharging such heavy rains as to swell the rivers, and render progress very laborious for the wayfarers. The Indians, seeing the movements that were being attempted, carried off the food supplies and absented themselves, so as not to have the road covered with the bodies of those whom the Christians, in witness of their cruelty, would work to death and leave behind. All these things made the march so difficult that it was by no means easy for the one camp to overtake the other.

CHAPTER LI

How Don Diego de Almagro, with his General García de Alvarado, went in pursuit of Pero Alvarez Holguin, and how, after getting near to Bombon, they turned back: also of the death of Juan de Herrada, and how Pero Alvarez continued his march.

THE men of Chile having decided to go in pursuit of Pero Alvarez Holguin in the hope of defeating him, they set out, as related, from Jauja. Juan de Herrada was greatly weakened by his illness, and, being unable to go on with Don Diego, he stayed behind in that valley. But after leaving there and marching with great speed in expectation of overtaking their enemies, as explained before, they were unable, owing to the great difficulties of the road, to come up with the troops of Pero Alvarez, although they overtook his baggage and did some mischief to it. The general opinion now was that they would do well to go back to Jauja, and continue their march from thence direct to Guamanga and the great city of Cuzco. The object was to increase their army with the men they might find in those cities, make artillery, and wait to see how Vaca de Castro would enter the Realm, and whether he would join hands with the partisans of the Pizarros. And then, according to his policy, they would decide what they had best do. The enmity and hatred they felt against Gómez de Tordoya was very great, because they said he was the principal cause of Pero Alvarez having abandoned his expedition to the Chunchos and returned to Cuzco. They wanted to take revenge on him for that.[1] So when they resolved to give up the chase after Pero

[1] They had already murdered his son, the gallant boy who defended the Marquis.

Alvarez, they returned to Jauja, and there found that Juan de Herrada[1] had died of his infirmity; at which all were deeply sorrowful. Here they rested awhile and begged supplies of food from the Indians.

Pero Alvarez Holguin continued his march at this point with great labour. The ground was very steep and rugged, the mountain passes were snow-covered and excessively cold, the rivers much swollen, and in many places without bridges. He heard how near the enemy had been, and kept his men in good order, animating them to show a bold front to those who were in pursuit. But all the captain's soldiers were so resolved to die in maintaining their cause that exhortations were hardly necessary. They were constantly on the alert, and never tired of keeping their arms by them, to see if those men of Chile would join issue with them. When those in the rear guard knew that the enemy had turned back, the march was continued in splendid order, with scouts always in advance to keep them in-

[1] Other authorities called him Rada, and they were followed by Prescott and Helps. Cieza de León is right. The name was Herrada. I am unable to concur in Mr. Prescott's estimate of the character of this man. I cannot find any authority for that historian's statement that Herrada was of good family, and he certainly had no experience in high military commands.

Herrada came to Peru with Pedro de Alvarado as a common soldier of mature years. Deserting Alvarado he entered the service of the elder Almagro, remained with him until his death, and then attended his young half-caste son to Lima, obtaining unbounded influence over him. He originated the plot for the murder of Pizarro, and was the ringleader in that atrocious crime. None of Almagro's old captains, except Chaves, and no man of honour, would have anything to do with it. Herrada had force of character, but neither prudence nor ability. By inducing young Almagro to make him his General above the heads of better men, he affronted and estranged the old captains and friends of the young half-caste's late father. His murders of Pizarro's secretary, of Francisco de Chaves and others, were acts of folly which no able conspirator would have perpetrated. The murder of Pizarro may have been partly to avenge the death of his old master, but he and his accomplices were far more influenced by anger at not being provided for. Herrada's last advice to appoint two Generals showed his incapacity. For young Almagro the death of this ruffian was nought but a good riddance.

formed. The Indians being so addicted to lying, and caring so little for speaking the truth, spread reports that parties were coming against them from in front, and that the men of Chile were still pressing forward in their rear. This caused some trouble and disquiet, for they received many false alarms.

The ensigns went forward with the banners and the royal standard. The way, as we have said, was very difficult and the rivers swollen and many without bridges, so that, in the hurry of crossing, some Spaniards, horses, and Indians were drowned. They marched on until they came to an ancient fortress of the Incas, former kings of these regions. The name of it is Tambo, and it stands half way between Jauja and Caxamarca. The position where the fortress and its barracks stood, was a strong one, and Pero Alvarez resolved to rest there, both Spaniards and horses being much fatigued. While they were there the General, his captains, and head men consulted together as to what should be done, and it was agreed that messengers should be sent from thence to the licentiate Vaca de Castro, to let him know what had been done in the service of his Majesty, and that they were then in search of him, and to ask also for his commands as to what they should further do in the king's interests. They chose Luis de León as their messenger, a citizen of Arequipa; Juan Alonso Palomino and Diego de Torres were ordered to go to Guaraz and ascertain where the captain Alonso de Alvarado was, for they now knew from the men they had captured at Jauja, and from the Indians, that he had raised the banner in the service of the king and was awaiting, with a strong force of Spaniards, the arrival of Vaca de Castro. The messengers took letters from Pero Alvarez and his captains to persuade Alonso de Alvarado to come and join forces with them, the one wish and desire of all being to serve the king. And then they could move forward with all despatch,

that Vaca de Castro might know what had happened. The messengers, taking the letters and their credentials, eagerly set out to find Vaca de Castro. They passed through very great danger, for the natives, at a village called *Taca*, seeing them so few in number, came out to kill them. Scarcely had they got there with their despatches when the Indians attacked them with great boldness; but in the end, as they were valiant soldiers, they passed on and arrived at the camp of Alonso de Alvarado. When that captain heard that Pero Alvarez was coming with such a brilliant company, and whole-hearted readiness to serve the King, he rejoiced. But for them to suppose that he would place himself under the command of Pero Alvarez and be his subordinate, when he had formerly been his superior, he looked upon as folly, and determined that it should not be. Instead, he answered the messengers equivocally, and furthermore offered excuses in his letters, which appeared fair, in order that no discord should arise.

As soon as Pero Alvarez Holguin had despatched the messengers, he departed from that fortress and took the same road they went by, always maintaining good order among his troops. The Indians came out to attack the rear-guard and see if they could plunder any part of the baggage. In this manner, and with very great labour owing to the rugged nature of the track, they arrived at a village named *Guaraz* in the province of Guaylas, where they found plenty of food. They then consulted about what should be done next, and decided upon waiting there for the reply of Vaca de Castro, to see whether he would come quickly to that part. For with the enemy in rear, nothing was to be gained in despoiling the country and consuming supplies, since they must perforce go back the way they came. And so with the approval of all, Pero Alvarez established his camp there, fixed the standard in the midst of the officers' quarters, and the banners in their order, leaving an

open space for any needs that might arise. Pero Alvarez ordered that there was to be no ill-treatment of the Indians, on pain of severe punishment, but that they were to be treated fairly and their food supplies taken only in moderation; but this order was of little avail. The flocks and other things that were robbed and taken from the Indians cannot lightly be told; yet there is no other way for it in such times.

CHAPTER LII

How the captain Alonso de Alvarado, on getting the news of Pero Alvarez Holguin, sent another messenger to Vaca de Castro urging him to come to where the camp was with all possible speed.

IT was very fortunate for Vaca de Castro that he should have found so much loyalty in the Realm; and that now that Don Diego had usurped the government of the provinces, his Majesty the King our Lord should have had vassals of a kind who would not countenance so weighty an offence, nor allow any one to occupy the Realm against his royal pleasure.

Although his Majesty has pronounced the battle that was fought at Chupas to have been just, I will not, in my book, term Don Diego and his followers traitors, for two reasons; as to which, if they are not evident, I submit to correction by those wise and learned men who understand these things better than I do. I say then, that the principal reason is that Vaca de Castro brought no mandate or commission to fight a battle. The second is that Don Diego and his followers would have supported Vaca de Castro if the latter had not joined with Pero Alvarez; and further, because the object of the Chile party, at first, was to avenge the death of the Adelantado by murdering

the Marquis,[1] and if the King should not think fit to pardon them, to retire into the most remote interior. It may be true that they committed a great mistake in that, at the time that they murdered the Marquis, they took the wands of Office from the *Alcaldes* of Lima, and gave them to men of their own choice: an ill-judged action.

But to return to our subject. Alonso de Alvarado had collected all the men within his reach, and had sent his messengers to Vaca de Castro; but when he knew that Pero Alvarez Holguin, with the people of Cuzco and Plata were approaching him, he decided not to go to Quito, where he supposed that he would find Vaca de Castro, but went on with his troops towards the province of Guaylas instead, first sending another messenger to Vaca de Castro. This message was to urge him to join in with the men he had collected, without letting more time elapse. For, praise be to God, things had made such a good beginning, that he and Pero Alvarez had now got together as many as 500 men, to help secure obedience to the will of his Majesty. He asked Vaca de Castro not to delay much in coming, lest Don Diego, who had retired towards Cuzco, should there increase his resources. He wrote other things in his letter too. As soon as Alonso de Alvarado had despatched the messenger, he ordered those who were with him to get ready to march to Guaylas. So they started at once and proceeded until they arrived at a habitation called *Yungay*, one day's journey from the camp of Pero Alvarez. Thence they wrote very gracious letters, and some of the one camp visited those of the other. Here they stayed, waiting for news of the Governor Vaca de Castro: where we will leave them for the present, and tell of what Don Diego de Almagro did.

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[1] This was the treason—the murder of the King's Governor. The object of the battle of Chupas was to capture and punish the traitors.

CHAPTER LIII

How Don Diego de Almagro's captains, being in the province of Jauja, agreed that he and no other should be General, and that Cristóbal de Sotelo should be Camp Master; and how they were for sending García de Alvarado to Lima, which was opposed by Sotelo.

DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO and those who were with him were deeply grieved when the death of Juan de Herrada became known to them. The captains and principal men consulted together about sending a captain to Lima for iron to make arms, and other things that were necessary; and some proposed that it should be García de Alvarado, with a hundred horsemen and fifty arquebusiers. When this was agreed to, Cristóbal de Sotelo, with others who viewed discreetly the evils that such an errand would arouse, and knew that the soldiers would rob the city and cause trouble and give offence, opposed it; which García de Alvarado bitterly resented. This having been settled, the soldiers publicly declared that they wanted no other General than the lad Don Diego, and that Cristóbal de Sotelo should be their Camp Master. The principal men entered into consultation over this and agreed that it should be so, although García de Alvarado showed himself aggrieved, because it deprived him of the command. From that time forward Don Diego took up the duties of Captain General, and Cristóbal de Sotelo those of Camp Master.

It was then determined that the Camp Master Cristóbal de Sotelo should set out with twenty horsemen, lightly equipped, and ride to the city of Cuzco to try and gather some friends together; and do what might seem to him

best. So he promptly started with twenty mounted men lightly equipped, and marched until he arrived at Guamanga, where he halted for a few days; and then continued onwards to Cuzco. García de Alvarado, when he saw that Sotelo was placed before him and sent to Cuzco to do what he liked, was deeply chagrined, and began to entertain hatred against him. Even his friendship for Don Diego became weaker, and was no longer so thorough as it was at the beginning. And thus he became very lukewarm in his Chief's interests.

The Camp Master Cristóbal de Sotelo, travelling very rapidly, arrived at Cuzco, where he called a meeting of the municipal councillors to get them to turn round and accept Don Diego as Governor. Felipe Gutiérrez, when he heard of the arrival of Sotelo in the settlement, wanted to slip away or go and hide himself at Santo Domingo; but Sotelo being warned of this, sent certain men who arrested him, and he was brought to the municipal building. Then Sotelo took the money he found there, belonging to Francisco de Caravajal and Bachicao and other persons who had joined Pero Alvarez, for the expenses of the war. He then ordered Diego Méndez, with twenty horsemen, and some arquebusiers among them, to proceed to the town of Plata, and have Don Diego acknowledged there as Governor, since his Majesty had given that Government to the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro his father. When the captain Diego Méndez arrived in the province of Charcas, where this town of Plata is situated, Antonio Alvarez (a settler there), Luis de Villanueva, and some others, not wishing to serve Don Diego nor give countenance to Diego Méndez, absented themselves, as they were unable to make any show of resistance. Diego Méndez wrote to Antonio Alvarez to come to him, promising that he would see to it that Don Diego should be lenient with him. Antonio Alvarez

replied that he was not going to be a traitor. Other negociations followed and things happened, but finally Antonio Alvarez, Villanueva, Vivanco, and others were taken into custody. Diego Méndez, after he had made them acknowledge Don Diego as Governor, and had installed Juan de Vera as lieutenant, went on to the rich mines of Porco, where he seized upwards of 60,000 *pesos de oro* that were there, and all the horses and arms he could find; and he returned to the great city of Cuzco with the whole of it.

CHAPTER LIV

How, after he had despatched messengers to many parts, the Governor Vaca de Castro resolved to leave Quito and go to join the captain Alonso de Alvarado.

IT has been related how letters from Alonso de Alvarado were given to Vaca de Castro at Carangue, informing him that he, Alvarado, had ranged himself on the side of the King, against the Chile party, and of other matters, and how Vaca de Castro received the news with great satisfaction and sent messengers to the Bracamoros and other parts, calling upon the people to join him in procuring punishment of Don Diego for having murdered the Marquis and usurped the government. When it was known in the coast towns that Vaca de Castro was at Quito several came to join him and, with those brought by himself and by Belalcázar, they made up the force there assembled to 120 men. And as he got word that Pedro de Vergara was coming very willingly to join, with all the Spaniards he had with him, Vaca de Castro determined, since his affairs were having so good a beginning, to set out from Quito; leaving Hernando Sarmiento there as his Lieutenant-Governor. But he first ordered the Adelantado

Belalcázar to go on ahead with twenty horsemen and scour the country; for having subdued the natives of that region himself, he was so well known to them, that he could ensure a supply of provisions at all the halting places along the route they would take. Belalcázar said that he would do as he was ordered, and leaving Quito by the royal road, he called at Pansaleo and La Tacunga, and went on until he came to the royal lodgments at Tomebamba. Here he met the captain Diego de Mora, and one Barrientos and others who, with a desire to serve the King, were coming to join Vaca de Castro. Among them came the captain Francisco Núñez, the same who was banished from Lima when they put Francisco de Chaves to death. To escape being punished for having been present at the murder of the Marquis, he pretended that he had come to join Vaca de Castro, and when he knew that the Adelantado Belalcázar was there, he spoke to him requesting that he would so far favour him as to see that he was not hardly dealt with. Although Belalcázar knew that he was one of the most culpable in the murder of the old Marquis, and that Vaca de Castro was anxious to capture the authors of that misdeed, and to inflict punishment commensurate with the greatness of the crime they had committed, he was not only content to let him escape, but, that he might get away without being seen by Vaca de Castro, he gave him a horse, telling him to ride until he was within his (Belalcázar's) government, where he would have nothing to fear.

When Vaca de Castro knew that Diego de Mora and the others were coming to join him, he rejoiced greatly and advanced as far as Tomebamba, still accompanied by Aldana, Maldonado, Valdivieso, and other friends; while to those he found at Tomebamba he showed great regard, and spoke very gratefully. But when he learnt that Belalcázar, without his knowledge or consent, had lent a friendly

hand to Francisco Núñez de Pedroso, he resented it deeply, and sending for Belalcázar immediately, rebuked him with some asperity; and from that time forth he did not trust the Adelantado as before. He wrote at once to Sarmiento, his lieutenant at Quito, urging him to use diligence in finding out by what road the captain Francisco Núñez had travelled, and to arrest him, that he might be punished. But although Sarmiento did his best, he was unable to catch the fugitive, because the guide given him by Belalcázar well knew how to elude pursuit and get within the Adelantado's government, where Núñez joined the captain Juan Cabrera, and they went together to Antioquía.

At this royal seat of Tomebamba they told the Governor Vaca de Castro certain things which I will not affirm to be positively true, because I have not met with an informant who states that he heard them himself, and also because Belalcázar was a friend of the Pachacama party, and had been one of the Marquis' captains. What they alleged was that he said he approved of the murder of the Marquis, that Don Diego had done well in killing him to avenge the death of his father, and that he showed himself a friend of Don Diego; besides other things which were not proper to be said at such a time. When Vaca de Castro was made aware of this, he was very seriously annoyed, and regretted that he had brought Belalcázar with him. He would have ordered him to return, had he not feared that many of those who had come with him would not themselves care to remain on seeing him go back. The anger and worry he felt on learning that Belalcázar had said such things brought on a fever, of which Vaca de Castro became ill. He said nothing to Belalcázar then, but continued his journey to San Miguel, people joining him day by day from all parts to serve his Majesty. He reached the city of Piura and, after having been welcomed as Governor, he departed, having a strong

desire the while to find some pretext for dismissing Belalcázar. Presently they arrived at the village of Carrochamba, where Vaca de Castro found the children of the Marquis who, since they heard of his coming, had been waiting for him there, as well as the widow of Francisco Martín de Alcántara. Vaca de Castro went to visit them before he entered his own lodging, and consoled them by saying that now that it had pleased God that the Marquis should be slain, they need not be anxious, for he would punish the authors of the deed, and the heirs should be restored to their estates.

After Vaca de Castro had been four or five days in Carrochamba, certain arquebusiers arrived, who had been sent by the captain Vergara; for when Sandoval and all those who were with him arrived, Vergara determined to set out to serve his Majesty. To avoid any difficulty about provisions, he would not come to where Vaca de Castro then was, but awaited him farther on, though in the meanwhile he sent the arquebusiers as a bodyguard for the Governor. The Governor was pleased at their arrival. Before this he had directed one Carreño by name, a very swift runner, to go to Lima dressed as an Indian, with a copy of his commission, in order that he should be acknowledged as Governor. This Carreño bound himself to perform, and he went with the despatch and letters to Lima, arriving there at a time when Don Diego was very near the city, so he smuggled himself into the monastery of Santo Domingo. When the Provincial, Friar San Martín, learnt the contents of the documents he was much relieved and told the news to the aldermen, who thereupon assembled in the church, where they agreed to accept Jerónimo de Aliaga as lieutenant, though it is said that they at first chose Francisco de Barrionuevo.

CHAPTER LV

Of what passed in the camp of Pero Alvarez Holguin, and how the Camp Master Gómez de Tordoya and the captain Garcilaso de la Vega set out from thence and went to meet the Governor Vaca de Castro.

WE related, in previous chapters, how the General Pero Alvarez Holguin arrived in the province of Guaraz with his people, and how Gómez de Tordoya was Camp Master and second in command. When they got there and learnt for certain that Vaca de Castro was coming nearer to Quito they sent messengers to him, and also to Captain Alonso de Alvarado. Now Carreño, who went with the Governor's commission to the city of Lima, had passed that way and spread the report that Vaca de Castro and all who were coming with him said publicly that the credit of all that had been done in Cuzco and the Charcas was due to Gómez de Tordoya, and to no other. Although Tordoya heard this, he was prudent and desirous to serve the King, so he did not pay any heed to it. Pero Alvarez felt differently, and appeared much annoyed on hearing of such gossip; and to excite him the more, his friends made trouble between him and Gómez de Tordoya by saying that the latter ought to be turned out of the camp and not be allowed in it, that it might be learnt and understood whether he was a party to the statement, or had given countenance to it, that it might work his own ends. Pero Alvarez inconsiderately sent Captain Castro to arrest Gómez de Tordoya, and this was done. Castro went one morning to the lodging of Gómez de Tordoya, with some soldiers, and carried out his orders, whereby Tordoya was caused great hardship. Without letting his intention be known Tordoya left Guaraz, armed and mounted, to go and

join Vaca de Castro. As the captain Garcilaso de la Vega was a first cousin of Tordoya,[1] and so highly esteemed by all present there, Pero Alvarez consented that he also should leave the camp. Garcilaso did so, giving the banner of his company to his ensign Pedro de Fuentes. The two knights having met together, took the road towards Truxillo, where they believed Vaca de Castro was.

After they had gone, the General Pero Alvarez Holguin made an explanation in presence of the soldiers, in order that they might not blame him for his treatment of Tordoya. He also wrote a letter to the latter, inviting him very earnestly to come back, for that it was by the speeches of prejudiced men that he had been induced to act as he did, for which he now felt regret. Tordoya, when he had seen the letter, replied that he would go to meet Vaca de Castro, and he would be a good friend to him, and of that he might be assured. So he went on until he found Vaca de Castro. The captain Alonso de Alvarado came several times from his camp to that of Pero Alvarez to enjoy friendly intercourse with those who were there, and they remained more than four months collecting supplies in the neighbourhood whilst waiting for the arrival of the Governor Vaca de Castro, with a strong desire to start at once in search of their enemies. So we will quit speaking of them, and say a little about the Governor Vaca de Castro.

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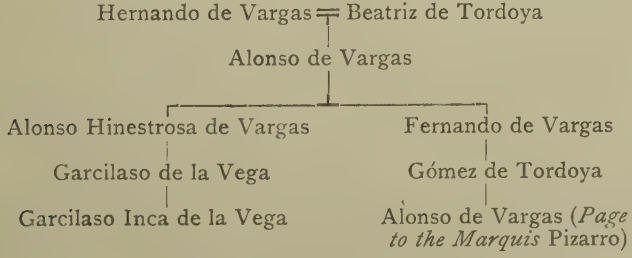
Hernando de Vargas
Beatriz de Tordoya
Alonso de Vargas
Alonso Hinestrosa de Vargas
Garcilaso de la Vega
Garcilaso Inca de la Vega
Fernando de Vargas
Gómez de Tordoya
Alonso de Vargas (*Page to the Marquis* Pizarro)

CHAPTER LVI

How the Governor Vaca de Castro ordered the Adelantado Belalcázar to return to his government, and how he was informed of Pero Alvarez having entered into Guaraz; and how, being at Motupe, Don Alonso de Montemayor and the captain Vasco de Guevara came to him there.

AFTER the arquebusiers who were sent by Captain Pedro de Vergara arrived, a messenger named Francisco de las Balsas, also sent by Vergara, came with the news that Pero Alvarez had taken the field in the service of the King against Don Diego, and that he and Gómez de Tordoya were at Guaraz with a strong force, waiting for the Governor's arrival. The Governor was heartily pleased with this news, and rendered devout thanks to our Lord. And there was great satisfaction among all those who were with him, looking forward to the hour that would see them united with the men under the captains Pero Alvarez and Alonso de Alvarado, for there were upwards of 400 Spaniards, very brilliant men, and many of them cavaliers of high birth. He learnt too that the captains Pedro Anzures and Garcilaso de la Vega and the people of the town of Plata had united with Pero Alvarez, and that Don Diego had followed them to near Bombon, and everything else that had happened. When the Governor Vaca de Castro had received such joyful news, than which none other could afford him greater happiness, he considered, since he was still feeling dissatisfied at having the Adelantado Belalcázar in his company, that this gave him a pretext for ordering him to return. He, therefore, spoke to Lorenzo de Aldana, and instructed him to tell Belalcázar that the time had now come for him to return to his own government, where the natives were in revolt and required to be brought into subjection;

and that now that Alonso de Alvarado and Pero Alvarez, with so many cavaliers, had declared themselves servants of the king, his services could be dispensed with. The Adelantado replied, to what Lorenzo de Aldana had said to him on the part of the Governor, that he was there to serve his Majesty, that he ought not to be ordered to return, because it would be a very great disgrace for him to go back in that manner, and it would be said that it had been for another reason.

The Governor ordered his secretary, Sebastián de Merlo, to go the lodgings of the Adelantado and to notify him by command on the part of his Majesty, that he was required to return at once to his own government to place it in order, because this was desirable for the service of the King our Lord; and that, if he did not do so, he could not be looked upon as doing the king's service, nor be regarded as possessing the loyalty that was expected from him as a subject and Governor of the king. The Governor ordered that this should be notified to the Adelantado Belalcázar apart, where no other person could overhear. Merlo went immediately to do this, and arrived in the presence of Adelantado. On reading the order of Vaca de Castro, Belalcázar was very much disturbed, and directed the people who were with him, and who had come from his government, to accompany him to the Governor Vaca de Castro. Merlo went before him, to apprise Vaca de Castro of the coming of Belalcázar with his followers. Without making any fuss, Vaca de Castro ordered the cavaliers who were with him to be watchful lest Belalcázar should attempt anything [in the nature of violence], and directed the arquebusiers to be ready, with arquebuses in their hands. Belalcázar came, accompanied by his followers, to where Vaca de Castro was, and when their arrival was announced the latter ordered that he be allowed to enter. Belalcázar entered alone, with a rueful countenance,

and said that he was astonished at what had been communicated to him with reference to returning to his government. His departure from it, as the Governor knew, was to serve his Majesty in this campaign, and not to return until Don Diego had been punished for his insurrection in the Realm of Peru. If he returned, some people would think that there was some sufficient cause for it, or that he had shown himself an approver and favourer of Don Diego. Having heard what Belalcázar said, and his arguments to clear himself of the impression the Governor had of him, Vaca de Castro replied with very serious words. He said that he did not doubt that Belalcázar had always shown himself to be a very loyal servant of his Majesty, who had entrusted him as such with the government of a distant province. He, Vaca de Castro, would not have thought any other thing of Belalcázar if it had not come to his certain knowledge that he, and his people, had favoured Francisco Núñez de Pedroso, so that he might escape without hindrance or punishment, and had supplied him with a horse and guides to conduct him by a route where he could not be found; also in Quito, and other places, he had not only tried to show, but had given to understand by his words, that Don Diego had acted very properly in putting the Marquis to death. For these reasons, and because the captains up beyond had upheld the king's word with great energy, he had sent to order Belalcázar to return to his government. He now again admonished the Adelantado to do so, for he had not yet secured tranquillity among the natives of his government nor had they ceased to be rebellious.

The Adelantado would gladly have gone onwards, and not returned to his government, as he felt that it would bring disgrace upon him; but though he protested much, it did not avail with Vaca de Castro. Seeing that he would have to return, he said it would appear to his followers as

if he had committed some fault, and he asked that an order might be given to obviate this. Vaca de Castro, to content him, wrote from there to his Majesty the king, saying that the Adelantado returned to do his duties in the government to which he had been appointed, because, in Peru, Pero Alvarez and Alvarado had declared for the king's service, and the Adelantado's help was no longer necessary. This was written that his Majesty might not consider he had always been ill served by the Adelantado. And to satisfy those who were with him it was agreed that he returned because he was an old man and had so much to attend to in his own government. Next day, the Adelantado took his leave, and all that we have related was done, and it was believed that the Governor had no feeling against him. He was attended by the men from Cali and others who were in his company, until they arrived at Quito, whence they proceeded to the government of Popayán.

While at the same place Vaca de Castro received news that the messengers from the captains were near at hand, at which he rejoiced. Presently he continued the journey until he arrived at the buildings of Cayambe, where the messengers reached him, and delivered the letters from the captains. From them Vaca de Castro was glad to gain full particulars of all they had done. He made the messengers very welcome, and he sent back very gracious letters, giving the captains to understand that his Majesty would grant them substantial rewards, as they had proved themselves loyal servants. He added that he would use all possible despatch to join them, admonishing them to preserve concord in the meanwhile among themselves, and to treat the Indians in such wise that they would have no grievance, and would not absent themselves on account of any ill usage. He wrote in like strain to the captain Alonso de Alvarado, and to the cavaliers and soldiers who were with him.

At this time, Vaca de Castro's commission having arrived, he had been acknowledged as Governor throughout the Realm, excepting the part where Don Diego and his captains held sway. In the rest, the Justices were for the king and in his name. Gómez de Tordoya, when he left the camp at Guaraz to seek Vaca de Castro, came as far as Truxillo, where the latter was expected, it being known that he was on the way. Don Alonso de Montemayor and the captain Vasco de Guevara went on to join Vaca de Castro, leaving the camp of Pero Alvarez, with his permission, before he halted at Guaraz. Although at Truxillo they heard that Vaca de Castro had left Quito, they did not wait there, but pushed on to meet him. Vaca de Castro marched until he reached the valley of Jayanque, where Don Alonso de Montemayor, Vasco de Guevara, and Pedro de Vergara, with the men brought from Bracamoros, happened to be awaiting him. Vaca de Castro was much pleased when he met them there, and especially so at the arrival of Vergara, praising the zeal he had shown in coming forward to serve his Majesty. He then asked Don Alonso and Vasco de Guevara several questions about what happened in Lima at the time the Marquis was killed, and was informed by them. Some of those who came with the Governor counselled him not to trust Guevara nor Don Alonso either, as they had been very close friends of the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro. Though he did not show that he felt any suspicion of them, he took care that their arrival should cause no mischief. But they were both resolved to serve his Majesty. Don Alonso de Montemayor was always very loyal, as he appeared afterwards at the time when the the Viceroy came to Peru, for he was one of those who followed and served him most diligently.

CHAPTER LVII

How the captain Pedro de Vergara spoke to the Governor Vaca de Castro about providing some relief for the soldiers who had come with him, and how the Governor arrived at Truxillo.

AS the captain Pedro de Vergara had been engaged for a long time in the subjugation of the Bracamoros, indeed, ever since the battle of Las Salinas, those who came with him had worn out all their clothing. Their need was so great, that they spoke to Pedro de Vergara, their leader, to ask the Governor Vaca de Castro to afford them some relief, by reason of their great desire to serve the king. Vaca de Castro heard from the captain of their condition, and ordered equipment and things they were in want of, to the value of 10,000 *pesos de oro*, to be provided for them. With this help they were much pleased and contented. Vaca de Castro did nothing without consulting Lorenzo de Aldana, and he intended to nominate him Camp Master of the army which was mustering where the captains were encamped. After having rested a sufficient time they started for the city of Truxillo, and when the citizens and dwellers in that place learnt that Vaca de Castro had come they received him with great willingness, and showed a desire to serve his Majesty in all that the Governor might direct. So he was personally acknowledged as Governor in the presence of the assembled *regidores* and *alcaldes*, as commanded by his Majesty's royal authority. Since leaving Spain, the Governor Vaca de Castro had passed through great hardships, and had made long journeys. He was a man of refined habits and had only been accustomed to work in his study, so that he now found himself much broken down and needing rest. But

to think of stopping still in any place until Don Diego should return to his Majesty's service or be obliged, by force of arms, to give up calling himself Governor (to which he had no title whatever) and surrender the province he had occupied, seemed to him a mistake. So he was anxious to leave Truxillo promptly, and during the days he was there he busied himself with disposing affairs as seemed best for the task in hand.

At Truxillo he found Gómez de Tordoya and Garcilaso de la Vega, with whom he spent much of his time. On learning the reason of their coming he spoke to them most amicably, saying that among gentlemen there should be no discord nor cause for enmity. He added that his Majesty would be informed of their services, and that they should be well rewarded. Some say that Gómez de Tordoya spoke well of the affairs of Pero Alvarez; others say that he did not, but rather gave the Governor to understand that the greater part of the honour of having raised the banner in Cuzco in the name of his Majesty belonged to himself alone, and that Pero Alvarez already knew at Lima, before he came to Cuzco to invade the Chunchos, that the Marquis was doomed to suffer death at the hands of the men of Chile—and that if Pero Alvarez had been chosen General, 'twas in order that he and those with him should not declare for Don Diego against the loyalists, who were so few that they would not have been able to obtain their desire (which was to serve the King) if he had wanted to prevent it. And further, that Pero Alvarez was so ambitious to have charge and command, that if the present holder should wish to deprive him of it, it would not take much for him to become an enemy, or to refuse obedience. They also say that when Vaca de Castro heard those things, he was much chagrined, but concealed his emotion that it might not be thought he feared lest Pero Alvarez, feeling his own power, would not pursue the war under his

authority. Presently he ordered all those who were going with him to get ready to start at once, because letters from both camps had arrived, urging him not to delay joining the other forces, but rather to hurry on their union in the interests of his Majesty's service. When those in the city of Truxillo saw that the Governor wanted to depart, they entered into consultation to discuss which would be the best route for him to take. Some thought that he ought to go to Lima, assemble all the men he could collect there, and go up with them to Jauja, where the other captains should be ordered to join him with their respective forces. Others thought that unsuitable, and that he should first go to Guaraz and be acknowledged by officers and men as Governor and Captain-general. It was finally decided that he should go first to Guaraz; and this opinion being assented to by all, he departed from the city of Truxillo, leaving Diego de Mora as Lieutenant and Justice, in the King's name. He marched, with those who had mustered to accompany him, until they reached the valley known as *Santa*, where he took the road up into the mountains.

CHAPTER LVIII

How the Governor Vaca de Castro, leaving the plains, ascended from Santa by the mountain road, and how he met Gómez de Alvarado, and was annoyed on learning that he came without permission from Alonso de Alvarado; and how the Provincial, Fr. Tomás de San Martín, also arrived.

THE Governor Vaca de Castro arrived at a coast valley they call *Santa*, where there is a large river, and where great edifices and houses, now in ruins, formerly stood. The plains and meadow lands along the banks of the river were covered with brambles and cane-brakes and dense

bush, where great quantities of mosquitos are bred; and at the time when Vaca de Castro was there these were by no means few. It was a great plague, and tormented the Governor and those who were with him to such an extent that, without tarrying long amidst such malign company, hasty preparations were made for ascending the heights. They followed the road to the right of the provinces of Moro and Quizquiz,[1] taking a supply of provisions with them, and some Indians who carried the baggage. The captain Pedro Vergara had remained in Truxillo, to gather in some men who had stayed behind, but in a short time he overtook the Governor, who was travelling by stages. As they ascended to the high elevations in the mountains, that common ailment of the head which overtakes everybody attacked him and most of the others, and used them so ill that they felt like being on the sea. At the end of some days the Governor arrived at a village called *Tozal*, where he was told by a Spaniard he found there that in the camp of the captain Alonso de Alvarado, some words had passed between the latter and a youth named Gómez de Alvarado "the lad."[2] When he heard of the approach of Vaca de Castro, this young man had quitted the camp without his captain's permission, and was coming to join the Governor.

[1] Clerical errors or misprints. Probably Mato and Carhuaz.

[2] This was not Gómez the brother of Don Pedro de Alvarado, and one of the old captains of the Adelantado Diego de Alvarado. He appears to have been no relation, and was called Gómez de Alvarado *el mozo* (the lad) to distinguish him from his namesake. We first hear of him in Cuzco in 1538, as having been arrested by Almagro as a partisan of Pizarro, just before the battle of Las Salinas. He then went with Alonso de Alvarado for the exploration and settlement of Chachapoyas. He afterwards joined Gonzalo Pizarro and was at the battle of Anaquito, when he saved the wounded Belalcázar from the ruffian Bachicao and others who wanted to kill him. Gonzalo Pizarro gave him the government of the Chachapoyas. But he deserted his Chief and joined La Gasca, who made him a captain of cavalry. After Sacsahuana, Gómez de Alvarado "the lad" went to Upper Peru, and when Giron commenced a civil war, he joined Alonso de Alvarado, but was killed in the battle of Chuquinga. Garcilaso confuses him with the other Gómez de Alvarado.

Vaca de Castro was displeased on hearing this and the more so in that he should be coming without leave from his captain, Alonso de Alvarado. Calling his secretary, the Governor instructed him to draft an order and go and notify it to Gómez de Alvarado, requiring him, under severe penalties in case of default, to return and place himself under his captain's banner. And he directed Merlo to then go with Gómez, until he had seen him safely under his captain's orders. Presently Merlo started off with the order to do what was commanded by the Governor, and went on until he came to where Gómez de Alvarado was quartered. With him he found the Provincial, Fr. Tomás de San Martín, who, when at Lima, had heard of the coming of Vaca de Castro; and, wishing to further the king's service, had presently set out to meet him, and had now come by way of Guaraz and the place where Alonso de Alvarado had formed his camp, and also by that of Pero Alvarez Holguin. All the officers of both camps enjoyed his company, and he theirs. One day when Alonso de Alvarado was in his own camp a coolness took place over some contention, and high words passed between that captain and Gómez de Alvarado. The Provincial intervened and made peace between them. Gómez de Alvarado then asked leave of the captain to go and seek for the Governor Vaca de Castro, which leave was refused. So he went out from the camp without leave, and when this became known to the Governor he sent Merlo with the order already mentioned. Arrived at the quarters at Guaylas, Merlo found Friar Tomás and Gómez de Alvarado lodging there, having travelled together from the camp. As Gómez was a cavalier of such high rank, Merlo thought it advisable to inform the Provincial what the Governor had sent him to do. The Provincial listened, and counselled Gómez de Alvarado to set out at once to meet Vaca de Castro, as he was so near. Holding this to be good advice, Gómez ordered his

horse to be saddled and, without letting Merlo know it, promptly rode away to where he thought he would find the Governor. He was ushered before Vaca de Castro and explained his great desire to serve him, and that he had left the camp of Alonso de Alvarado in order to find him the sooner.

Vaca de Castro was much annoyed that Gómez de Alvarado should have come in this way, instead of obeying his order to return to the camp of Alonso de Alvarado; but, as there was now no remedy for it, he dissembled his anger before the young man. Presently they set out for the station at Guaylas where the Governor and all who were with him suffered in their heads from mountain sickness, and felt as if they were on the high seas. Here the Provincial spoke to Vaca de Castro and freely offered his services, and the Governor welcomed him very cordially. From this place Vaca de Castro ordered Gómez de Alvarado to go to the camp of Alonso de Alvarado, as he was informed that he had quitted it without leave or assent. He would not allow any one to withdraw from the ranks of captains who had done such good service to the king, without their assent. Gómez de Alvarado felt aggrieved that the Governor should order him to return to where the captain Alonso de Alvarado was. He tried by means of words to excuse himself from going, but this availed him nothing. So he went, and the Provincial, Fr. Tómas, went with him; and when they arrived, he put himself between the two, and prevailed upon them to make friends. Having arrived at the quarters at Guaylas on Easter eve, the Governor resolved to halt there for two days, with the assent of all who came with him.[1]

[1] The reader will have observed some repetition and confusion in this chapter. It is as Cieza de León wrote it.

CHAPTER LIX

How the Governor Vaca de Castro held a review of the Spaniards who were with him, and how he sent the captain Lorenzo de Aldana, and also Diego Maldonado, to the camp of Pero Alvarez.

AS the Governor had arrived so near to Guaraz, where the Captain-general Pero Alvarez Holguin was encamped, many came from thence to see him and offer their services for the king, some remaining and others returning. And as in these parts of the Indies there is much craft, and men put so little faith in each other, it was not long before they began to sow discord between the Governor and Pero Alvarez: in this way. To Vaca de Castro they said that Pero Alvarez was suspicious, and that it was his intention, if he were not retained in the rank of General, not to furnish the troops he had raised, nor acknowledge Vaca de Castro as Governor. To Pero Alvarez they said that, owing to what Gómez de Tordoya and Garcilaso de la Vega had said to Vaca de Castro, he and others who had come from his camp showed no inclination to recognize the great service Pero Alvarez had rendered to his Majesty, and advised him not to hand over the banners. While these things that we are relating were going on Vaca de Castro consulted with the Provincial about what they told him. His intention was not to leave the command with Pero Alvarez as General, for it would not be proper that he himself, as Governor for the king, and having to be on the battle-field in person, should share the title of General with any other officer if the enemy attacked them. He also intended to bestow the position of Camp-master on Lorenzo de Aldana. The Provincial gave him his opinion as to what would be best for his Majesty's

service, and advised the Governor to send some trustworthy persons to explain matters privately to Pero Alvarez and persuade him to conform.

The advice of the Provincial appeared to Vaca de Castro to be good, and, seeing that Lorenzo de Aldana, who was an intimate friend and relative of Pero Alvarez, was there, he arranged to send him to speak with Pero Alvarez on his behalf. He was to say that the Governor had the greatest pleasure in recognizing all the service that Pero Alvarez had done his Majesty, but he was to persuade him to deliver the banners to Vaca de Castro, because, the Marquis being deceased, he was now the Governor of the Realm by commission from his Majesty as Pero Alvarez was already aware. As to what had been heard of him, that he desired to retain the command, the Governor would promise that, after himself, no one who was with him or elsewhere in the Realm should have precedence of Pero Alvarez in honour, nor rank above him in the camp. And since Aldana had always been such a loyal servant of his Majesty, and was such a close friend and relative of Pero Alvarez, it was to be expected that he would put his hand to this business in such a way that the king's service would not suffer in any respect. The Governor moreover wished that Diego Maldonado, a citizen of Cuzco, should go with Aldana, as he was a person of importance and well known to all. Lorenzo de Aldana replied cheerfully, expressing a confident hope that the king would be well served by the mission of Diego Maldonado and himself, inasmuch as there could be no reasonable doubt of the loyalty of Pero Alvarez. So they presently set out and arrived at Guaraz in a few days. After having been handsomely welcomed some discussions took place between the parties. Aldana and Maldonado explained to Pero Alvarez the suspicions that had been raised against him, and said that having done such splendid service to

the king's cause he should not tarnish it by not conforming to the Governor's plans. In the end they persuaded him to act with all friendship and loyalty, assuring him that Vaca de Castro would look upon him as the second person in all the camp, and would give him the position of Camp-master. So Pero Alvarez delivered the banners to be given to Vaca de Castro and wrote him a polite letter; and the same was done by the other captains and cavaliers who were there with him.

Meanwhile the Governor Vaca de Castro had set out from where he had halted and was approaching the place where Alonso de Alvarado's camp was pitched, on learning which that officer prepared to receive him in the most honourable way possible, with many festoons of sedges and sweet-smelling flowers round about the tent. As the Governor approached, Alvarado and his officers mounted their steeds and rode out to meet him, in their armour, while the footmen came with pikes, cross-bows, and arquebuses, in squadron formation and in fine order, as if ready to fight, that the Governor might see how dexterous they were in military drill. When Alonso de Alvarado came to the Governor, he dismounted to make obeisance, and Vaca de Castro received him very well, commending him for the great service he had done to his Majesty in raising the banner in his royal name, and for the honour he had acquired in having been the first to declare against the party of the men of Chile. Alvarado replied that he had done what he would never cease to do, which was to serve the king. Presently Gómez de Alvarado and the other gentlemen and soldiers composing the cavalry and the squadron came up to kiss hands, and the Governor embraced them all affectionately and gave them sure hopes that they would be rewarded for what they had done in his Majesty's interests. After saying this and other things they all remounted and went into the camp, where

Vaca de Castro was lodged in quarters that had been prepared for him. He was so happy and contented at seeing himself in command of the troops assembled there, and at finding that Alonso de Alvarado was loyal to him, that he could not conceal his pleasure.

CHAPTER LX

How it became known at Guaraz that Vaca de Castro was in the camp of Alonso de Alvarado, and how Captain Castro went thither, and of Vaca de Castro's going to Guaraz and taking command of the troops there, and of what else happened.

AS the camp at Guaraz was so near to the camp of Alonso de Alvarado the news of what was passing reached there quickly, and Pero Alvarez, with the rest, were greatly pleased. For they had been encamped there many days and were anxious to depart. So they at once made ready to welcome the Governor, and Captain Castro presently set out with a small escort for the place where he was quartered. On arriving in Vaca de Castro's presence the latter greeted him with much affection, as a relation of his own through the Countess of Lemos,[1] with whom Vaca de Castro also claimed near relationship.

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[1] The Counts of Lemos derived from Rodríguez Alvarez Osorio, and his wife Aldonça daughter of Alonso Henríquez, Admiral of Castille. Their son Pedro Alvarez Osorio, who died in 1483, was Count of Lemos by right of his wife, Beatriz de Castro, the heiress of Lemos. His great granddaughter was Beatriz de Castro Osorio, Countess of Lemos. She married a son of the Portuguese Duke of Braganza, and had a son who was the 4th Count of Lemos. Vaca de Castro was a cousin. The 4th Count of Lemos had a daughter Teresa married to the 4th Marquis of Cañete, Viceroy of Peru, and a son Beltrán de Castro, governor of Callao under his brother-in-law, to whom Sir Richard Hawkins surrendered, and of whom he said that he was a very noble knight and a perfect gentleman. A later Count of Lemos was Viceroy of Peru.

Captain Pedro Anzures also came out from the camp at Guaraz, by order of Captain Pero Alvarez, because he looked upon him as a very special friend, although there had been some points in dispute between them, too. And Vaca de Castro received Pedro Anzures very cordially. After Pedro Anzures had left Guaraz, Lorenzo de Aldana and Diego Maldonado resolved to go to the Governor and represent Pero Alvarez's keen desire to serve his Majesty, and advised Alvarez, as he was so near, to go himself and see de Castro. He replied that he would go gladly and that he was ready to start. So, leaving their camp well guarded, they set out for that of Alonso de Alvarado, where the Governor was. When Vaca de Castro heard that Pero Alvarez was coming he was very glad, and some gentlemen went out to welcome him. The Governor showed great love and goodwill when he saw Pero Alvarez, and promised to honour him for the good service he had done for his Majesty, and for the satisfactory results throughout the Realm. Pero Alvarez told him of all that had happened since the time when the banner was raised at Cuzco. Gómez de Tordoya, and Garcilaso de la Vega were also there. After Pero Alvarez had spent one day with Vaca de Castro he returned to his camp, not over pleased, some would have us believe, because it seemed to him that it would have been a fair thing to leave him with the rank of General, seeing he had so truly shown himself to be such a loyal servant of his Majesty.

As soon as Pero Alvarez was gone, the Governor, Vaca de Castro, after taking the opinions of all the principal people who were with him, determined to go to Guaraz, where the banners were to be delivered to him. Although he was anxious to see the camp united, and placed under his command as Governor, yet he remained for three days, resting after his long and fatiguing journeys. After that, accompanied by Alonso de Alvarado and the rest of the

people, he set out for the camp of Pero Alvarez Holguin. When they arrived there Holguin came out with all the cavaliers and soldiers he had with him, and gave him the most solemn reception that was possible, quoting the name of the king and declaring that all would serve him with the utmost loyalty until they had wrested the Realm from those who had usurped it, and that they acknowledged and would obey the Governor in the royal name. Having joyously declared these things they fired off their artillery and arquebuses. All the horsemen came fully equipped, with lance in hand, and drew up before the Governor to salute him and welcome him on his arrival. He replied to them very graciously, thanking them for their services to his Majesty; and all made their obeisance together. Taking the royal standard in his hand, Pero Alvarez Holguin then addressed the Governor. He said that when he, and many other cavaliers who were here present, were about to set out for the exploration of the region beyond the Chunchos, they received news of the untoward death of the Marquis and of the great calamity it had brought upon the Realm. Deploring those events they returned to Cuzco, where he, Pero Alvarez, was accepted as Captain-general by all the Spaniards who were there and attended. On being informed that Vaca de Castro was coming, in the King's name and with his authority, he did not care to risk anything, although his force was increased by those in the lists at Cuzco and was fairly well equipped with arms, artillery, and horses, and with strong wills to chastise the tyranny that had risen up; for it was clear that the evil, if he failed, would be greater than the profits of a success. He had therefore traversed the provinces of Jauja and Bombon as far as to Guaraz, intending to wait there for the Governor's instructions. "And since Our Lord," he continued, "hath guided events prosperously, and you are the king's Governor by

virtue of the death of the late Marquis, receive, Sir, the royal standard and the banners which have been raised for this war, under which I and all the cavaliers and soldiers who are here enrol themselves."

Vaca de Castro, with very great delight, took the royal standard in his hands, and gave it to Rodrigo de Campo, his captain of the guard, and thus answered Pero Alvarez:— "You have delivered to me the banners and the men who are here. As you are a knight, and coming from such loyal predecessors as were your ancestors, I expected nothing less." He ordered his captain of the guard to keep the standard, because he did not wish to display any other than the one he had ordered to be made at Quito.

CHAPTER LXI

How the captain Pero Alvarez Holguin felt somewhat aggrieved because the standard he had presented was not displayed, and there was even some commotion; and how Vaca de Castro again made public the decree of His Majesty that he held, and requested, by virtue of it, that he be acknowledged as Governor.

AS soon as Vaca de Castro ordered the standard which Pero Alvarez presented to him to be taken over they all moved off towards the place where the camp was pitched, which was not far away, and, as there were many tents, it looked like a great town. When they were starting Pero Alvarez observed that the standard the Governor had brought with him was displayed, but not so the one he himself had presented. This hurt his feelings very deeply. Some of his friends saw it also, and began to make a disturbance, but not so as to reveal the cause of their annoyance. Pero Alvarez, prudently dissembling his feelings, rode side by side with Vaca de Castro, who had clearly discerned the other's pique. When they arrived at the

camp they found it all decorated with sedges and green boughs. Before entering the quarters which had been arranged for him, he ordered that all should remain where they were, without moving or going to rest, because he had something to say to them. When the Spaniards heard this, none of them went away: on the contrary, all the captains and other principal people wanted to hear why Vaca de Castro directed them to stay. A high stage was set up covered with a cloth of black velvet, and on it was placed a blue velvet chair. Then, without seating himself, he addressed them with a countenance and mien of great authority, and spoke thus:

"Loyal Cavaliers, Renowned Captains, Subjects of Caesar our Emperor and great King:—

"I am not unaware, for I well know, of the great loyalty and generous valour which have moved you to serve his Majesty, and to undo the rebellious tyranny which has been set up by Don Diego and those who subserve his nefarious aims. Be assured that the value which his Majesty, and I in his royal name, will put upon such loyalty cannot be overrated. It has pleased God to at length bring me here, after having suffered many perils by the way and endured such illnesses and unrest as you all now know. I do not think lightly of telling you these things; but rather do I rejoice and feel it a great happiness, and congratulate myself that, with your favour, I may now perform whatsoever is fitting in the king's interest. My desire will be to reward and gratify each according to his service. That my coming might be known in this illustrious army, I sent forward a copy of his Majesty's decree commissioning me to govern these Realms to Captain Pero Alvarez, and to the other officers belonging to it; and now it is proper, having seen the original document, that you should receive and acknowledge me anew as Governor and Captain-general."

When he had said this he took out the commission and ordered the secretary to read it aloud, and all, holding up their right hands, began to shout out: "Long live the King!" and that they took and held Vaca de Castro to be their Governor. He then turned to them and said that he had to apportion the land among them all. Having finished his speech, the Governor stepped down and went to his lodging, where the captains Alonso de Alvarado, Pero Alvarez Holguin, Garcilaso de la Vega, Lorenzo de Aldana, Diego de Rojas, Pedro Anzures, and Don Pedro Puertocarrero, with many other captains, remained with him. He observed to them that since there are citizens and councillors in all the cities of the Realm, those of each place should meet together and elect municipal officers, to acknowledge him as Governor, just as the army had recognized him as Captain-General: and this they presently did. Then Vaca de Castro retired to rest, and the captains and cavaliers did the same; where we will leave them for the present, in order to say a little about Don Diego de Almagro.

CHAPTER LXII

How, when Don Diego de Almagro arrived at the city of Guamanga, Martín Carrillo, his Camp Master, killed Baltanas; and of his departure from Guamanga for Cuzco, and how he supplied himself with arms, and constructed artillery.

DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO arrived at Guamanga, and went to the place where lodgings had been prepared for him, and all the inhabitants made a show of great zeal for his service, so that he should not carry them off with him. The city was nearly deserted, however, the rest of the inhabitants having joined Pero Alvarez. His Ensign-

general, Gonzalo Pereira, because they had not found him a lodging promptly enough, went to the public square in a great rage, and, seeing the gibbet which was set up in the centre, he leaned his standard against it, and with no little arrogance, as if he ought to be thought of before his commander, exclaimed that here should be his lodging, since he was not fit for anything better, for they had given him none. Judgments are of God, and in them he shows His great power. Here was this officer, carrying the standard as an emblem and precious object, and resting it against the gallows, where, afterwards, all the captains and principal persons who followed the party of Almagro were put to death by judicial sentence. Don Diego was very angry when he heard of it.

The office of Camp Master had devolved on Martín Carrillo.[1] At Guamanga he had arrested Baltanas on some not very important charge, and while the man was being escorted as a prisoner, some of his friends came out to rescue him. When Don Diego knew of it, he grasped his sword and said that Martín Carrillo should not be interfered with, but that he should be left to execute justice. Martín Carrillo put Baltanas into his tent. The captain Juan Balsa and others went to prevent them from killing him, but when Martín Carrillo saw them coming he ordered a negro to stab his prisoner. Thus was murdered Baltanas, who was a great friend of Cristóbal de Sotelo. Although Don Diego approved of his death, the Camp-master Carrillo was afraid of Sotelo, and, therefore, began to make great friends with García de Alvarado, who had not yet started for Arequipa. Carrillo represented to him that Sotelo wanted to be above everybody and to have no equal, and other similar things; and as Alvarado's mind

[1] In the absence of Sotelo at Cuzco. Carrillo was one of the murderers of the Marquis. He was hanged at Guamanga after the battle of Chupas.

was inflated with pride, little was needed to enlist his sympathies, and arouse his hatred for Sotelo. After these things, Don Diego set out for Cuzco with all his following, but first he sent García de Alvarado to Arequipa to collect more men and arms.

Continuing his journey, Don Diego arrived at Cuzco, where he met with a grand reception, and he and all his men were lodged in the city. A few days afterwards, Diego Méndez came to the town of Plata, where he treacherously captured Antón Alvarez, a resident of the place, and seized all the gold and silver there was in the mines of Porco and in that region; and with all these spoils he took the road to Cuzco. When he drew near, the Governor went out to welcome him, and was very delighted because he brought such a good supply of money to pay the soldiers with. All the men that could be collected were thus brought together, and Cristóbal de Sotelo managed everything extremely well. They were so well supplied with all there was in the land that many had enough and to spare, while none went short. The captains had tables set up in their houses, where the soldiers usually took their meals. But Don Diego and all his followers knew full well that they could retain neither lives nor estates unless they could successfully defend them. After Holguin had passed beyond Jauja many lost heart, and some would have been glad not to be in Cuzco; others, however, with Don Diego, wanted to strengthen their forces in such wise that their enemies would not be able to triumph over them. They, therefore, determined to prepare themselves and make ready a stock of arms. They collected a vast quantity of copper, and Pedro de Candía offered to cast several heavy pieces of artillery. He gave out that he wished to serve Don Diego in that war, although afterwards he seemed to favour the other side. The first moulds he made for the new cannon were very large, but

they got him to have them made smaller. It was now known that Vaca de Castro had joined Pero Alvarez at Guaraz, so they set to work with all possible speed and no little industry. Some brought the copper, others made the charcoal, others prepared the furnaces, and in a short time they had turned out six large and well-made cannon. This, too, notwithstanding that Pero de Candía's castings proved failures three or four times—designedly as it seemed to all, because he repented of having said that he knew how to make them. The excuse he gave was that the metal cooled too quickly, and that the bellows would not work properly.

As soon as the artillery had been cast, orders were given to collect more than 300 silversmiths to repair and make arquebuses and other arms, under the superintendence of Juan Pérez, a very ingenious man who had had charge of the cross-bowmen in the battle of Las Salinas, as we before related. He understood the business so well that the arquebuses he turned out were as good and trusty as if they had been made in Vienna. They made many military saddles of steel, with silver on the pummels and cantles, and finished them with many ornaments and coverings of coloured silk. They also made very gaily painted lances, with their guards and very fine points of adamant, many corslets of silver and gold, and smart well-made helmets of the same, and all other necessary arms for thirty-five [1] men-at-arms ready to join battle.

[1] Misprint for 350.

CHAPTER LXIII

Of what further happened in the city of Cuzco, of the speech Don Diego made to his companions; and of what García de Alvarado did.

IN relating the things that passed in the city of Cuzco between Don Diego de Almagro and his people, and their great activity in equipping themselves with arms, it must be understood that the good captain Cristóbal de Sotelo was quite indefatigable. Out of his own estate he had given 100,000 *pesos* among the soldiers, his companions; and he had sent spies, by order of Don Diego, to find out whether Vaca de Castro was advancing. The Inca Paulo also ordered runners to find out at Jauja what was happening at Guaraz; and when Vaca de Castro had joined Alonso de Alvarado and Pero Alvarez Holguin the news of their union spread over all the provinces of the Realm in such a way that it soon reached Cuzco, and the Indians said that Vaca de Castro had brought many Spaniards and foot-soldiers. This news did not fail to cause some stir—not that it caused dismay to young Don Diego and his accomplices. They entered into consultation, he and his captains and principal supporters in the city, to decide what had best be done. They agreed to leave Cuzco as soon as possible, and to induce Vaca de Castro not to give battle nor cause an encounter, because they were waiting to see the royal command of Caesar, and his commission, in order not to go beyond his orders in any way. They knew not the hour when García de Alvarado would come; but ordering all the Spaniards of his party who were in Cuzco, horse and foot, to

assemble in a place where they could hear him, Don Diego thus addressed them:

"You all know, and no one can cease to remember, the great worth of my father to this Realm, and the constancy with which he tried to open up the country; also the desire he displayed not to fail in his duty to his Majesty in a single point, and the cruel death they inflicted upon him, as witnessed by some of the veterans who were with him at Las Salinas and are now with me to follow in his footsteps. Afterwards, having endured this great calamity for you and for me, and being in Lima, I was so badly treated by the Marquis that in truth I often abhorred my life and wished for death, which he was about to order to be inflicted on me. To escape from such odious bondage, and to avenge my father's death, I took the life of the Marquis, which he justly forfeited, for the life he took or ordered to be taken of one who had so greatly honoured and befriended him. Now that the Marquis is dead—and even if he were not dead—let it not appear to you that we are doing any ill service to his Majesty in wishing to conduct the government that he conferred upon my father. His Majesty even empowered my father to nominate a successor to administer his government in the royal name in the event of his own death; and that all who were unaware of this may now take it for certain, I have resolved to order the commissions and grants that his Majesty issued to my father to be read before you all. Mind ye, therefore, that my desire goes no farther than to see myself placed in full charge of the province of New Toledo, in order that I may pay back the much I owe to you, as well as reward the services you rendered my father in past wars and explorations."

Then, having ordered them all to go to an open field outside the city, the commissions held from his Majesty by the late Adelantado were read. Amongst them was one

which said: "Whomsoever shall be nominated by him as Governor after his own days, him shall the municipalities obey and accept as his successor." His father's will gave further proof wherein there is a clause showing that he appointed his son Don Diego to be his successor as Governor, and Diego de Alvarado to be his executor. As soon as these documents had been read, and which the soldiers were not a little glad to hear, Don Diego concluded his speech in these words: "Now that you know this to be clear, I appeal to you to be my faithful friends and companions, and not to forsake me until it is seen what my fate will be, and what his Majesty will order. Vaca de Castro does not bring any power or authority with him to dispossess me of the government; and do you bear in mind how many and great were the services of my father, and the ingratitude of the Pizarros."

So well did this young man know how to address the Spaniards that he won all their hearts and incited them to follow him against any leader who might come against them. Most of the soldiers who were in Cuzco, indeed, were men of worth and of white blood; and, as they had shown themselves to be friends and supporters of Don Diego from the beginning, they bestirred themselves to follow him with a constancy which was unwavering, and not—as some mean minds are wont to believe—feigned. It is said that they felt such hatred against Cardinal Loaysa,[1] knowing that Vaca de Castro had been appointed through his influence, that they burnt him in effigy, and spoke many insulting words against him.

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[1] Fray García de Loaysa, President of the Council of the Indies, Archbishop of Seville, and confessor to Charles V. He was a brother of Dr. Gerónimo de Loaysa, the first Archbishop of Lima and friend of Vaca de Castro. The appointment of Vaca de Castro by the Emperor, would have been settled on the recommendation of the Council of the Indies, submitted through its President.

García de Alvarado had gone, as we said, to the lowlands, by order of Don Diego, and was to raid the coast tracts as far as Arequipa. He went by way of Lunahuana, plundering all he could, and seizing all the arms and horses he found. He arrived at Arequipa, where he committed gross excesses, and killed a resident called Montenegro, and another Spaniard; and they do say that he was so grasping that he went the length of carrying off the sacred vessels of silver and gold from inside the churches. After he had inflicted not a few outrages at Arequipa he set out with the reinforcements and arms he had been able to get, for Cuzco, where he was warmly welcomed by Don Diego de Almagro. Sotelo knew very well about the murder of Baltanas at Guamanga by Martín Carrillo, and that there had been conversations between him and García de Alvarado, which proved to him that they were his covert enemies. Considering that it is not necessary to be too precise in such times, he concealed what he felt in his breast, and spoke to García de Alvarado, as soon as he arrived at Cuzco with others, desiring to be on friendly terms. Alvarado said that Cristóbal de Sotelo had done wrong in nominating Juan Gutiérrez Malaver to be captain of the men raised in Cuzco, and that he had not any intention to condone or overlook it.

Now Sotelo was the officer whose duty it was to provide what was necessary in the city, and he took great care that the soldiers should not commit any robberies or excesses nor provoke the native Indians. But war brings with it unbridled license, and soldiers do not consider they show pluck unless they appropriate the goods and property of peaceful people. And so two soldiers, who called themselves the Machines, broke into the house of Captain Gabriel de Rojas, to kill another soldier and make off with what they could. In fine they killed him, and though they tried to shelter themselves in a place where Sotelo could

not arrest them, they did not succeed; for as soon as he got notice of their crime he promptly had them searched for and ordered their arrest. He told them to confess, for they would be presently put to death for the crime they had committed.

CHAPTER LXIV

How the captains García de Alvarado and Saucedo went to ask Cristóbal de Sotelo to pardon the soldiers he had in prison, and of their fate; and of what else happened until García de Alvarado killed the good knight Cristóbal de Sotelo.

AS the soldiers in Cuzco were not well under control, their feeling was that, provided it were not against military discipline or matters relating to the war, there ought to be no punishment for any crime they might commit. They therefore became very riotous when they heard of the imprisonment of the Machines. Don Diego presently knew of the arrest, but took no steps. García de Alvarado and Saucedo determined each to go to Sotelo, and ask him to pardon those men that he had under arrest. Saucedo being the first to call at the prison, admission was refused him, nor would Sotelo do anything in response to the request made to him. Then Saucedo shouted at him that he had better take care what he was about, for the prisoners were his friends and he was going to demand justice. Cristóbal de Sotelo was much enraged at these words, and answered by telling Saucedo to go to his lodging; if not, he would put him where he was soon going to put the prisoners. Saucedo then went away and joined García de Alvarado, who, by this time, was also near; but although he too knocked at the door, they would not open it nor answer him. Sotelo, after holding an enquiry into

the affair for which the men had been arrested, sentenced one of them to be hanged.

Now that the day was approaching when the field of Chupas and its slopes would absorb much noble Spanish blood, and the party of the Almagros would come to an end, it was meet, and necessary for its destruction, and for the due commemoration of the Marquis's obsequies, that envy and malice should bring about the death and removal of the principal captains among the men of Chile, so that those of the Pachacama party might encounter less resistance in completing the triumph that was to be theirs. For Francisco de Chaves being already dead, and Juan de Herrada having been poisoned (as they say) by Juan Balsa, the only captains left to them were Cristóbal de Sotelo and García de Alvarado. And so, that these should come to an end like the others, it fell out in this wise.[1]

García de Alvarado, being a spirited youth, and having come from Arequipa very proud of bringing in so much stolen treasure, began to feel aggrieved because Sotelo was more considered than himself and always first and foremost above the rest. He set about to making friendships, feigned or true, with many who had been soldiers under Francisco de Chaves, and were on bad terms with Sotelo because they said their old captain's death was due to him. García de Alvarado now wormed himself into their

[1] This gives a wrong impression. The captains of the old Adelantado Almagro had not all come to an end. Most of them had declined to take part with the murderers of Pizarro. Francisco de Chaves, it is true, had been murdered by Juan de Herrada. Of the others Diego de Alvarado had returned to Spain. Gómez de Alvarado and Juan de Sayavedra had left the young Almagro at Jauja, and returned to Lima. Montemayor and Guevara were actually with the army of Vaca de Castro. Sotelo alone had remained with young Almagro, from devotion to his father's memory, although he had protested against the murder of the Marquis.

García de Alvarado was not an old captain of Almagro. He is first heard of in history as one of the accomplices of the murderers—a truculent young ruffian.

favour so as to make use of them when necessity should arise; though he thought little of Don Diego de Almagro himself. He next began to distribute the money he had brought among those who were his friends and who appeared to him to be on his side, glad always to asperse Sotelo and to belittle his affairs. The accomplices with García de Alvarado in this business, and those who went among the soldiers for him, probing their dispositions, were Rodrigo Núñez, who had been the old Adelantado's Camp Master, a man of little knowledge and less judgment, Martín Carrillo, Juan Rodríguez Barragán, and many others.

Cristóbal de Sotelo did not fail to perceive García de Alvarado's design against him, but as he was prudent he pretended to treat it with unconcern and not pay much attention to it. Nevertheless they say that he spoke to Don Diego on the subject. But since García de Alvarado had won over many of the soldiers who were in the city, and some of the veterans who had followed the banners of the old Adelantado, he covertly and of set purpose raised the question as to who was to be General of the camp, himself or Cristóbal de Sotelo, so that they should declare that he and no other should be the one. In those days Sotelo was laid up with a calenture, owing to which he passed a serpent or worm from below, a fathom in length, and he rather suspected that he had been given poisonous herbs. Don Diego and all the captains and citizens went to visit him, and so did many of the soldiers who were his friends. He said before some of them that he cared nothing for any Alvarados, past or present, the which being overheard, it was not long before García de Alvarado got to know of it. He was offended, nursed evil intentions against Sotelo, and resolved to kill him. Riding one day through the city with some of his friends, García de Alvarado met Juan Balsa, who was also mounted; and

proposed to him that they should go and visit the captain Cristóbal de Sotelo, as he was ill. Juan Balsa said he was willing, and, taking leave of Alvarado's other companions, they went. There went with them one Juan García, of Guadalcanal, and Diego Pérez Becerra, great friends of García de Alvarado. When they reached Sotelo's lodging they entered his bedroom, and after a few words had passed, García de Alvarado said: "Why did you say that you held the Alvarados as nought, and other things which have been reported to me, and are to my detriment or against my honour? You must give me satisfaction." At the time when this happened, Sotelo, besides being ill, had no friend or servant present with him, although there were usually plenty in the house. As his illness had not diminished, but indeed was rather worse, he replied that he was not in a condition to answer him or give satisfaction; for that he was not himself, and indeed so ill that he was passing devils and serpents from his body. Juan Balsa showed himself, in his words, to be favourable to Sotelo. He said to García de Alvarado that it was not a time for settling such affairs, and he got up as if about to go. García de Alvarado, seeing him rise, did the same and took leave of Sotelo. Cristóbal de Sotelo, being a man of spirit, and one who held his honour very dear, after thinking over for a little in his own mind what had passed between him and García de Alvarado, loudly called him back, and said: "I do not remember having said of you nor of any Alvarados what you allege, but if I did say anything heretofore I repeat that, being who I am, I do not concern myself much about Alvarados." When García de Alvarado heard that he exclaimed in a great rage, "I swear to God that I shall have to kill you, Sir Traitor." Sotelo, jumping out of bed, cried out "I will kill you."

García de Alvarado, clapping his hand upon his sword, made towards the infirm Sotelo to wound him, but Juan

Balsa, with great promptitude, made a spring at the assailant, and threw his arms round him. Sotelo went into an inner chamber, where there was one of his servants, named Lizcano, and looking round for arms, saw only a sword and a cloak. With these he came out to where García de Alvarado and Juan Balsa were talking. By this time some of García de Alvarado's friends had come along, and had surrounded the house. Alvarado had freed himself from Juan Balsa and now came in alone, with his sword raised, looking for Sotelo. But when Sotelo's servant saw him advancing he assailed him from behind, and gripped him tightly in his arms. Sotelo, seeing his enemy so near, came forward to kill him; but Juan Balsa stayed his hands, saying that he must not do such a thing. Meanwhile Alvarado, although the servant Lizcano bore him down, managed to get clear and wounded him on the head, and then made at Sotelo to kill him, and gave him several stabs and cuts. Hearing the noise, Juan García, whom we mentioned above, came in and wounded Sotelo so seriously that, in a short time, he lay dead on the floor, clasped by Juan Balsa, either to rescue him from death or in his eagerness to see him dead—which latter is my belief and I hold to be the more certain of what they say. In this manner died the foremost and most upright leader among the party of the "men of Chile." In his death may be clearly seen the fall and destruction of them all, for had he remained alive, he would by his prudence have guided subsequent affairs in a different way from that in which they came about.

CHAPTER LXV

Of the concern shown by Don Diego and many of the Chile party at the death of the captain Cristóbal de Sotelo; and of how García de Alvarado and others fortified themselves in his quarters, and Don Diego wanted to attack them there.

THE news of the murder of Captain Cristóbal de Sotelo soon spread throughout the city, and great was the excitement, for he was beloved by many soldiers for his valour, by the veterans who had served under the old Adelantado, and by those others who had recently chosen to follow the banners of Don Diego. They were so affected that it did not fail to be evident from their sad countenances and from the tears that flowed from their eyes. With sorrowful lamentations they girded on their arms and repaired to the quarters of Don Diego; abandoning García de Alvarado, and calling him vile and cowardly for murdering Sotelo when he was disabled by sickness. They desired to have the traitor delivered into their hands that they might put him to death for daring to take the life of the captain they so greatly adored. Presently Juan Balsa went to young Don Diego's quarters and apprised him of what had happened, though he was out at the time. Don Diego was much concerned, because some told him that García de Alvarado wanted to deal with him in the same way, and revolt against him with the whole camp. Although Don Diego showed no weakness, but was anxious to go and seize or kill the murderer there and then, they advised him to enter the house of Pedro de Oñate, who was afterwards Camp Master, whence he ordered the alarm to be given through the city. He went to the great square, with those who rallied round him, whence it was his intention to go and attack the house

where García de Alvarado was ensconced. The captain Felipe Gutiérrez and other prudent cavaliers urged him not to do this, because it was not a time for expending men's lives, they said, and it might give rise to a mutiny against Don Diego himself, for it was known that some captains and many soldiers had a true friendship for García de Alvarado, and that if things came to blows, all their fury would be against Don Diego. He was thus persuaded not to attack the house in which García de Alvarado had shut himself up with the others who stood by him. Martín Carrillo, although he no longer enjoyed the post of Camp Master, but was only a private person, went out and about the city, without any authority whatever, forbidding everyone, on pain of death, to quit their houses. Don Diego, observing the luke-warmness and lack of will to carry out his wishes in those who were with him, returned very sadly to his house.

When the quarrelsome García de Alvarado saw how prosperously, and favourably to his wishes, the affair of the murder of Sotelo had turned out, he sent some of his friends to induce as many as they could to side with him; and since the Spaniards in Peru are so changeable and fickle, and hold to no faith but their own private interests, seeing that García de Alvarado had more power than he whom they had chosen and appointed as their Governor, they joined him who seemed the stronger in greater numbers than he expected, offering their arms and their persons as far as he might wish to avail himself of them. Don Diego was now in his house, as we said, feeling very deeply the death of Cristóbal de Sotelo, and the fact that he was not strong enough to punish the author of so foul a deed. Taking counsel with his captains and principal persons as to what it would be best to do, they agreed that it was not expedient, nor was it a time to form themselves into cliques and parties, for the enemy was at their gates. So

a truce was arranged between Don Diego and García de Alvarado. Don Diego covertly sent to say that García de Alvarado had better stay in his house and not come out of it, because no other course was convenient. García de Alvarado was so haughty and presumptuous that he cared very little for any words or commands of Don Diego; but he answered, in bad faith, that he would do as he was ordered, and would not leave his house until it should be Don Diego's pleasure.

CHAPTER LXVI

How Don Diego de Almagro gave Sotelo's troop to Diego Méndez, and how García de Alvarado was killed, and Cristóbal de Sotelo avenged, at his hands.

AFTER the events we have related had passed in the city of Cuzco, there did not cease to be some tumult in the city following the death of Cristóbal de Sotelo. Don Diego, who felt most keenly the insolence of García de Alvarado, reflected within himself what scheme would lead to the satisfaction of his desire, which was that no one else, with the example of García de Alvarado before him, should attempt another treason such as that person had perpetrated. He also wanted to get rid of García de Alvarado as a companion, in order to advance his desire and give effect to his plans. Summoning to a consultation the captains and old soldiers who were entirely faithful to him, through having followed the banners of the Adelantado his father, Juan Balsa was with the assent of them all nominated Captain-General—a man unworthy of such a charge; and the troop lately Cristóbal de Sotelo's was entrusted to Diego Méndez, because he was known to cherish enmity against García de Alvarado, who was still

esconced in the fortified house with his supporters. As the soldiers in Cuzco had now received news of the entry of Vaca de Castro into the Realm, they felt the necessity for peace among themselves in order to be in a position to resist attack, come whence it might; and they therefore approached their captains, with a view to mediation between Don Diego and García de Alvarado. But as the latter knew he was to blame in reference to past transactions, he asked that Don Diego would make him his Captain-General and give him sufficient power to govern the camp in Don Diego's name. Failing that, Alvarado would not trust to promises, but in that way his person would be secure and he would serve Don Diego loyally. The latter desired to punish Alvarado, but, seeing there was no other course open, he agreed to give him the power that was requested and to appoint him his General, first arranging with Juan Balsa and others to concert crafty and cautious plans to kill him. So Alvarado was presently sent a commission naming him General and Deputy-Governor. When they delivered it to him he tore it up in front of the officer who had brought it, and spoke ugly words against Don Diego because it did not include power to displace and appoint captains, declaring that he was not the man to be contented with limited power. And as he had heard it said that Juan Balsa had previously been named for General, he conceived that Balsa must have intrigued with Don Diego not to give the full powers he claimed. So he talked with some friends about a way to kill Balsa, by sending to call him up and then stabbing him. His friends replied they would execute his command.

So Alvarado sent one of his henchmen to Juan Balsa, requesting him to be so particularly kind as to come to his house, as he wished to talk some things over with him. When the messenger arrived and Juan Balsa, who was not a little wary and cunning, learnt the nature of his errand,

he immediately guessed it was to complain about the commission Don Diego had sent to Alvarado; and he thought that he might soothe him by means of smooth words and lure him to the house of Don Diego, where he could be killed. So he went with the messenger to García de Alvarado's house, where he was courteously received with outward goodwill, though with the real object and intention we have mentioned. When he had come in, García de Alvarado said to him: "I am astonished, Juan Balsa, that Don Diego should have wished everyone to know that he does not show me the friendship due for the splendid things I have done in his service and the loyalty with which I have followed him. Ingratitude is a sin which is not easily forgiven. The leaders who take part in wars like this, and whom Don Diego treats as if they were his vassals, endure much at the hands of his friends, and put up with many things to avoid coming to a rupture with them and losing his favour. He has chosen to show as much anger with me for the death of Sotelo, as if his happiness depended wholly upon that captain's life, and his troubles and misfortunes arose solely from his death. He does not consider the good reason I had for killing Sotelo, and the little cause he had to oust me from his service. But after all, neither does my honour nor my personal existence require that I should change my fortunes or deny him my friendship. If Don Diego will consider the times, and how profitable it is to have friends, and will send me the commission with adequate power, as I asked for it to be, he shall keep me as devoted to his service as I have been from after the death of the old Marquis until now."

García de Alvarado believed that Juan Balsa would answer peevishly, which would afford an occasion for killing him. But Juan Balsa, who well knew what he was about, replied very blandly, saying that if Don Diego had not sent Alvarado power in the commission to appoint

and discharge captains, it was owing to an omission by the scrivener, and that he himself should draw the commission and have it written out for him, Balsa, to then bring back signed by Don Diego. As for himself, added Balsa, he wished it so, knowing that it would be advantageous for them all to have Don García as General. It was true that Don Diego had nominated him, Balsa, as General some few days previously, but he had voluntarily declined the charge, desiring that Alvarado should be the lord and chief over them all, because he was so much looked up to by the people.

These things, and others of like plausibility, said Juan Balsa—resourceful man that he was in such contingencies—to García de Alvarado, under an artful veil of great caution. Alvarado, believing what Balsa told him, replied very graciously, giving him to know that he had sent for him to kill him, but now that he understood his views and good wishes he would always look upon him as a true friend. He asked him to procure the commission he desired from Don Diego, and let him know how truly he was his servant and friend. Juan Balsa, after promising that he would do this, departed for the house of Don Diego, where he gave him an account of all that had passed between him and Alvarado. He and others then advised that the commission should be sent to García de Alvarado in the form he wanted, and that, when time and place should subserve, he should be killed. Don Diego did not like it, feeling that the scheme betrayed a lack of courage, and that he was losing his authority; but, seeing that it was advisable, he ordered the commission to be made out in the form García de Alvarado wanted and, after he had signed it, he sent it to him. With this García de Alvarado felt himself secure, and was content. He went forth from his quarters well escorted, and was proclaimed in the public square of the city, to the sound of many

trumpets, and was acknowledged by all the soldiers. Meanwhile Don Diego bided his time for a chance to kill Alvarado, fearing lest this person might want to do the same with him as he had done to Cristóbal de Sotelo.

CHAPTER LXVII

In which the preceding chapter is concluded, down to the death of García de Alvarado.

WITH the passing of the events we have narrated, there did not cease to be deep mistrust between the one party and the other. Some soldiers insisted to García de Alvarado that he should kill Don Diego, and march with the remains of his army against Vaca de Castro, wherever he might appear, for they did not deem it safe to trust Don Diego any longer, nor others who had shown themselves to be their enemies. Alvarado, who was very inconstant, but a bold youth to boot, did not hesitate about doing what his friends advised, or killing Don Diego. At this time there was, in Juan Balsa's troop, a cavalier named San Millán,[1] a native of Segovia belonging to the family of the Bocudos, very rich merchants. He had been one of the *conquistadores* in various parts of this Realm, and was present at the murder of the Marquis. He was very liberal and a great spendthrift, having lavished upwards of 80,000 *pesos de oro* upon the soldiers in camp. When García de Alvarado was nominated General, San Millán wished to offer him his friendship and service; and as San Millán was prodigal of his means, he pressed Alvarado, after having made him many offers, to accept the hospitality of

[1] One of the murderers. He was with Pizarro at Caxamarca, and got his share of the Atahualpa ransom.

his house and friends, at a social reception he wished to give him. García de Alvarado, knowing that San Millán's words to him were spoken with good intention, without any afterthought or admixture of malice, thanked him for the invitation, and replied that he would be happy to do what San Millán had asked of him, especially as they might bring together at the reception or banquet many who were disaffected towards each other, and so promote friendship among all; and he told San Millán that he might get ready for any day he wished, as he would like to invite Don Diego. They say that, after this, García de Alvarado conferred with his friends about murdering Diego Méndez,[1] Alonso de Sayavedra, Diego de Hoces,[1] Juan Gutiérrez Malaver,[2] and other captains and soldiers who were deemed to have been friends of Sotelo. They even resolved to kill Don Diego de Almagro himself, and after these murders, to send messengers to Vaca de Castro, offering to deliver up the camp and render him obedience, upon which Alvarado was to be made captain, so that he might go forth to explore some remote and unknown portions of these Realms. After having formed this conspiracy, its authors and conspirants, who were not few, set about preparing to carry it out, and García de Alvarado, when he had arranged it, went to Don Diego and announced that San Millán wished to give an entertainment and had invited him. He begged that Don Diego would be present and allow the captains to come too, as it was right that all should enjoy themselves.

Don Diego quite understood that García de Alvarado did not say this in good faith or of his own choice exactly; but as it seemed that this might open a way in which to get Alvarado killed, he accepted the invitation courteously, and observed that he thought it would be good for them to

[1] Murderers of the Marquis. [2] Accomplice.

have some diversion and enjoy themselves. This being arranged, García de Alvarado took his leave, and returned home to complete his arrangements, while San Millán went about collecting all manner of things for the banquet, buying wine at 300 *pesos* the *arroba*, for the guests to drink. Don Diego conferred with his friends, and those he most trusted, and concerted plans for them to be prepared to take García de Alvarado's life at this reception that he wanted to take place. Juan Balsa, Diego de Hoces,[1] and Juan Gutiérrez Malaver, Diego Méndez and others, agreed to comply with the mandate in this affair and leagued themselves against Alvarado. Being all imbued with this good purpose, the afternoon arrived. Don Diego had retired to his chamber a little after vespers, and with him those who were to kill García de Alvarado. Stretched on his bed Don Diego pretended to be ill, in order that Alvarado should come and want to take him to the reception or supper, for all had dined already and there was to be a second repast, at which each party expected to achieve its deed. Don Diego ordered Martín Cote[1] to take the guard that night, and see that the soldiers were well supplied with bullets, for what might happen. Martín Cote sent his ensign with fifty arquebusiers to carry out the orders given by Don Diego. When they arrived at the gate of Don Diego's house they were secretly ordered to fire the salute without bullets, but at the second round to fire with bullets and to be in readiness to obey further orders. By this time the supper was ready, and García de Alvarado sent a request, couched in submissive terms, that Don Diego would come to it, intending to put into practice what had been preconcerted. Don Diego, who was not rash where nothing less than his life was concerned, pretended of set purpose that his illness was worse, so that

[1] One of the murderers of the Marquis.

García de Alvarado should come to him and there would be a chance to kill him. When the messenger came, Don Diego answered—"Tell the Captain-general that I am feeling so unwell that I do not want any supper; but that out of regard for him I will go presently to where he wishes me to be present." On the messenger's return, it seemed to García de Alvarado that it would be bad manners not to go to Don Diego, since it was plain that he was unwell, and therefore, so that they should get him to where they wished without arousing suspicion, he said to those who were with him—"Hi! Gentlemen, let us go to the Governor, for they tell me he is not well." Thereupon he left his house and went to where the entertainment was to be, with many men well armed, and shielded by every precaution. He himself wore his sword and a short coat of mail, thick and of a fine mesh. On the way he met Martín Carrillo, a fast friend of his and an enemy to Don Diego. Learning whither Alvarado was going, Carrillo urged him to go back, for that, if he went on, he was lost, and if Don Diego should find him in his house it would certainly be his death.

García de Alvarado, with his usual audacity, turned and said "Who is man enough to kill me? Let us go. Don't you be afraid; for I am not." Martín Carrillo, divining the just death that awaited Alvarado, again warned him not to go, declaring that he would never return from thence. Alvarado, not heeding these remonstrances, arrived before the entrance to Xapana, which was where Don Diego had his quarters. On seeing so many arquebusiers he was troubled. They gave him the salute without bullets, which reassured him, and he passed and entered the house. He had no sooner gone in than the arquebusiers reloaded with bullets. He entered through the *sala* accompanied by all his friends, and went on to the room where Don Diego was. The captain of the guard, Juan de Guzmán,

stood at the door. Alvarado pushed abruptly into the room, asking where was the Governor. As soon as he was inside, with three or four of his friends, the captain Juan de Guzmán shut the door and secured it well with a halberd, to prevent the others who had come with him from entering. Don Diego was much elated that Alvarado had come to him. He got off the bed where he was reclining, and called out to those who were with him, "Hi! Gentlemen, let us go to supper." García de Alvarado said, "What has been your lordship's illness? I am much troubled to hear that you have not been well." Don Diego answered that it was nothing now, and that they might well go to supper. As he said this, Juan Balsa as Lieutenant-general, stepped forward and threw himself upon García de Alvarado and closed with him saying, "You are arrested in the King's name." Don Diego, drawing his sword, cried out, "Arrested, no; but dead—yes!" and so saying he gave Alvarado a bad wound on the head, while those who were present struck blows at him, and pierced his body with many wounds. He only exclaimed "God protect me! where are my friends?" Saying this he fell dead on the floor, and paid for what he did to Cristóbal de Sotelo. His friends, when they knew what had occurred, were scared at such a strange proceeding, and went away, some in one direction and some in another, to hide in various buildings of the city. Don Diego desired nothing more than to punish García de Alvarado; and now that he had him dead the Governor pardoned all those who had figured as Alvarado's friends. Many came accordingly to kiss hands and to renew their offers of service to him.

On the death of Alvarado there was great relief among the rest of the Almagro party, for owing to his arrogance and presumption all wished him ill. He ended by dying a death in conformity with the life he had led, and paid for his complicity in the murder of the Marquis,

the robberies and outrages he committed, and the death he inflicted on Sotelo—above all, for his treachery in wanting to gain renown, and obtain pardon at the expense of the youth Don Diego and the others. García de Alvarado was a cavalier aged twenty-nine years, of handsome mien and comely form, ambitious, proud, highly presumptuous, and very vain. He was very spirited and brave, but fond of low company, and prone to listen to their advice. They robbed his house, where he kept a deal of plate, and other articles of value.

By this time the members of the Almagro party had fallen not far short of effacing each other, and their tyranny had almost triumphed over themselves, so that it seemed as if it had pleased God our Lord that the posthumous honours of the Marquis should be celebrated with the blood of the very men who were foremost in his murder, and in committing so great an atrocity as that of which they were guilty. Considering in my own mind the ill-starred deaths of Francisco de Chaves, Juan de Herrada, Cristóbal de Sotelo, and García de Alvarado, who were the principal leaders of the Almagro band, and the bad ends they all came to, I am astonished that the promoters of seditions and tyrannies which have arisen did not take warning from them, to estrange themselves from such a hateful and iniquitous thing as the usurpation of the kingdom from its natural Lord.[1] But the people in Peru do not know how to take warning from the example of others. Let us leave this, however, and say a little about the Governor Vaca de Castro.

[1] He means Charles V, not the Inca Manco.

CHAPTER LXVIII

How the Governor Vaca de Castro decided to send his army to the province of Jauja, while he himself went to Lima.

THE reader will remember that, farther back, we told how Vaca de Castro arrived in the province of Guaraz, and how he was acknowledged as Governor and Captain-general in the name of the King: and other things. A few days later an assembly of captains and principal cavaliers was summoned, to consider what ought to be done for the pacification of the Realm. It was agreed that the captains should be posted to the command of the several companies, and that they and the sergeants and other officers were to understand that the war was undertaken by the Governor Vaca de Castro's orders. He appointed the captains to their former companies, and issued commissions to them without making any change except in the case of Pero Alvarez Holguin, who still looked to be General. But Vaca de Castro wanted that office and dignity for himself, which Pero Alvarez begrudged him. These things having been arranged by the Governor, he asked the captains and principal cavaliers to rejoice and make merry, seeing that the mercy of God our Lord in uniting their forces together had been very great. On hearing this, they arranged tournaments with canes and rings;[1] and the Governor entertained them at his tent. After their festivities he named the licentiate León as chief magistrate of the camp; and because Pero Alvarez learnt that his authority as Camp Master was not to extend beyond military affairs, and not to touch the administration of justice, he began

[1] Tilting at the ring.

to complain, and to say that that was how his services were being requited. Vaca de Castro desired to establish complete concord among his people; so without withdrawing the duty given to the licentiate León, he sent to tell Pero Alvarez that, since he was a gentleman, he should give his attention to serving God and the King, and that, in the exercise of the office he held, he might take over certain pikemen over whom to be captain; for the Governor desired that, except himself, no person there should rank before Pero Alvarez. With this order all questions ended between the Governor and his officers and all were content, unless it were the captain Gómez de Tordoya, who entertained enmity towards Pero Alvarez. Although he was given a company of mounted men, he would not take charge of them, but wanted to be merely a private soldier entering into the battle. He was a very close friend and kinsman of the captain Garcilaso de la Vega, and tried to persuade him by means of words to take the same course as himself. Garcilaso wishing to see the realm at peace and to do just what might be his Majesty's pleasure, would not, in all loyalty, do anything but what the Governor ordered him.

These things having passed, and the companies having become known to their respective captains, it was found that they had no good pikes, which caused them great concern. But there happened to be one Cervantes there, a resident of Lima, and this man knew where there was wood suitable for making pikes, in the province of Jauja, where he held some Indians in *encomienda*. He offered to go and see to the matter. He went to Jauja and arranged with the Indians to cut wood in the forests, for making pikes sufficient for the war, and many very good ones were turned out. The captains then again entered into consultation with the Governor, and they agreed that it would be well to send scouts into the province of Jauja to learn the

state of affairs beyond and gain that region for the King. It having been decided that this should be done, they told off Captain Diego de Rojas, with troops sufficient for the purpose, to undertake this duty. Diego de Rojas thereupon set out with those who were to go with him. After further consultation between the Governor and the captains it was their opinion that the Governor should go down to the coast valleys and proceed to Lima, where his lieutenant Aliaga was in charge, in order to obtain money for the payment of the soldiers, and to enlist men wherewith to increase his forces. They also agreed that the captain Pedro Anzures should go to the city of San Miguel and arrest a certain Santiago, a rich man who lived there, and had plenty of money, and who had shown himself to be a friend of Don Diego. His goods were to be sequestrated, and any money of his that they might find was to be brought to Lima by way of the coast road. So Pedro Anzures presently set out. Then the Governor ordered the captains Pero Alvarez and Alonso de Alvarado to lead the troops into the province of Jauja without halting, and form the camp there pending the Governor's arrival from Lima to join them. Having ordered these things, Vaca de Castro proceeded to Lima, sending messengers before him to announce his approach. As all those who were left in Lima were friends of the Marquis, they were very glad when they heard that the Governor was coming, and they gave him a grand reception. He made his entry on the eve of *Corpus Christi.*

The licentiate Benito Suárez de Caravajal, who was then in Lima, came out to welcome him, as well as his brother Illán Suárez de Caravajal the factor, the captain Diego de Agüero, the treasurer Alonso de Riquelme, the lieutenant Jerónimo de Aliaga and the magistrates, and with them the Governor Barrionuevo. After they had kissed hands and the ceremonies usual at similar functions had been

gone through, Vaca de Castro was lodged, and very well regaled by the inhabitants. As he was entering the city the Factor addressed him in the name of all the rest, saying that he was as welcome as the *Gran Capitan* had been in Italy, as to all that would conduce to the service of his Majesty, and that he and all the gentlemen of that city were ready to serve him and do all things in his Majesty's interests, like loyal subjects. The Governor thanked him and showed pleasure at what the Factor had said.

CHAPTER LXIX

Of what Vaca de Castro did in Lima, of the arrival of the captains at Jauja, and how Pedro Anzures went to San Miguel.

AFTER the Governor Vaca de Castro arrived in Lima, and was welcomed and acknowledged as related in the preceding chapter, he was informed by the factor Illán Suárez, his brother the licentiate, and Francisco de Godoy, of all the events that had happened there. He put before them and the other officials and magistrates how the captains Alonso de Alvarado and Pero Alvarez Holguin had collected a brilliant array of troops, all desirous of serving His Majesty, and determined not to rest until the tyranny of Don Diego should be put down. He found in them all a true and earnest readiness to do the same. In Lima he also found Gómez de Alvarado,[1] brother of the Adelantado Don Pedro, with whom he was much pleased. Exertions were made to raise money, and to collect men

[1] This was the elder Gómez de Alvarado (no relation to the other), one of the old captains of the Adelantado Almagro. He disapproved of the murder of the Marquis, and of the subsequent proceedings of the young Almagro, and had therefore remained at Lima.

to augment his force. They were called up at the sound of the drum, and when they had all been mustered, Gómez de Alvarado was made captain of the mounted men, and Juan Vélez de Guevara of those on foot. At this time Alonso de Alvarado and Pero Alvarez, with Garcilaso and the rest, had gone forward from Guaraz and marched by stages until they arrived in the province of Jauja, where they found Diego de Rojas. They ordered him to advance to the city of Guamanga[1] and make a fort there, where he was to wait until the rest of the division should arrive, pending the receipt of news of what Don Diego was doing, and whether he had departed from Cuzco.

The camp was pitched in Jauja, and the captains and men-at-arms were well supplied by the *Guancas*, natives of that valley. Vaca de Castro was at Lima procuring necessaries, where the captain Juan de Sayavedra, the licentiate Benito Suárez de Caravajal, the captains Diego de Agüero and Francisco de Godoy, with the secretary Jerónimo de Aliaga, had attached themselves to him, whilst Montenegro and other inhabitants of Lima offered to go with him. Diego Gavilán the *conquistador*,[2] a native of Guadalcanal, did the same, and they prepared to leave Lima.

The captain Pedro Anzures made such good speed that he soon reached the city of San Miguel, and arrested Diego de Santiago, from whom he took 18,000 *pesos de oro*. With this he proceeded to Lima, and was welcomed by the Governor. The money brought by Anzures supplied pay and outfits for the soldiers. In the port of Callao there lay anchored the great galleon, with four other ships. Not knowing what might be the result of the war, Vaca de Castro thought it well to hold the sea secure, so as to be able to escape by it if they should find them-

[1] Now called Ayacucho.

[2] *i.e.*, with Pizarro at Caxamarca, and received his share of the Atahualpa ransom.

selves closely pressed. After having taken the advice of the senior persons there he appointed Juan Pérez de Guevara, the same who had gone to settle Moyobamba, to command the ships. He promised that he would do what he was ordered, in all loyalty. When Vaca de Castro had put things in order at Lima, he set out on his journey, and travelled until he arrived in the valley of Jauja, where he was welcomed by the captains. Diego de Rojas had marched as far as Guamanga, and ascertained from the Indians that Don Diego was still at Cuzco, where all the inhabitants were favouring the King's service.

Vaca de Castro now thought it well to set out from Jauja, and they made preparations, when a thing happened which presently bid fair to cause much harm. It arose about certain Indians who were wanted to carry loads for the company of Alonso de Alvarado, but whom Pero Alvarez, in his capacity as Camp-master, would not supply. Alvarado was so angry that he sent Pero Alvarez a challenge. When Pero Alvarez received it he became exceedingly enraged, and was about to meet his adversary when Vaca de Castro heard of it. In a great hurry, before the friends of either could take sides, he sent for Alonso de Alvarado, and ordering him not to go from where he was, the Governor began to expostulate with him. He appealed to him as the oldest captain, and one who had always served the king, not to show enmity for so slight a cause and in such difficult times towards Pero Alvarez, nor any other captain. Having said these things, Vaca de Castro then ordered his secretary Pero López to go to Pero Alvarez and ask him for the letter containing the challenge. Pero Alvarez answered that he did not treat such things seriously, and that he had already torn up the letter. The Governor then directed Pero López, Lorenzo de Aldana, and Francisco de Godoy to go and get the letter; and Pero Alvarez sent the torn pieces to Vaca de Castro.

Francisco de Godoy, Lorenzo de Aldana, Garcilaso de la Vega and other gentlemen then intervening, Alonso de Alvarado and Pero Alvarez were induced to make friends, and they remained on good terms as before. Vaca de Castro recompensed the native dwellers in Jauja for the supplies they had given, and distributed the new pikes among the soldiers; and they prepared to leave Jauja at once.

CHAPTER LXX

How Don Diego de Almagro, after the death of García de Alvarado, determined to prepare for departure from Cuzco; how he sent one Juan de Aguirre with ten other mounted men to reconnoitre, and how they were taken and killed.

AFTER the captain García de Alvarado had been killed in Cuzco, as we have written in earlier chapters, some who had been his friends expressed discontent on account of his death; and it pleased God that there should be so much disagreement amongst them that the civil war they were engaged in should come to an end; and that the youth Don Diego, constrained by necessity, would either put himself separately into the hands of Vaca de Castro, or retire, with the few who would follow him, into the regions lying beyond [the] Maule. Pondering over the discontent which was showing itself among some of his party, Don Diego secretly called for Martín Carrillo and Baltasar de Castilla, and the other leaders, and said to them that inasmuch as he, and not García de Alvarado, was the person who must provide rewards and distribute the various tracts of the Realm amongst them, he asked them all to be faithful friends and such loyal companions, that they would all count on his constancy. They well knew, he said, the important reason there was for killing García de Alvarado, and the little cause that captain had, after Sotelo's death, to mix in conspiracies against himself and his friends. These and

other things said Don Diego to those who came, and they were content to follow him, and all of one mind to pursue the course they had entered on. Though the Indians reported that Vaca de Castro had arrived at Lima, there was no certainty of his actual position, so it was agreed to send a Biscayan named Aguirre, with ten other mounted scouts, in the direction of Guamanga, to see if he could capture anyone from whom to gain information of what was afoot thereabouts, as it was very important for them to be posted in what was happening in the lower provinces.

Presently Aguirre and his ten followers started to carry out the order of Don Diego. By this time all the provinces had information that Vaca de Castro was at Jauja with a force larger than that of Don Diego. It therefore seemed to the inhabitants wholesome advice to be on the winning side, and not to help Don Diego. The party who left Cuzco with the object I have stated proceeded on their way. In a valley called *Uripa* the Indians killed Aguirre, who had gone on ahead from another village where his companions had tarried. The Indians then attacked the others and so harassed them that they could not get back to Cuzco. They withdrew towards Guamanga, where Diego de Rojas was, but the Indians warned him and they were all captured and judicially executed. Don Diego heard of this disaster through the Indians, and grieved at the fate of his scouts, though without letting others know it. He reflected very seriously and felt that his followers must hasten their preparations, and look well to their lances, for the whole power of Peru was uniting against him. He had suspicions of Martín Carrillo and of a citizen of Cuzco, so he had them arrested, and wrote letters to Arequipa, to one Idiáquez, in whom he trusted as a friend, asking for his advice as to what he had better do with these prisoners, whether to leave them at Cuzco or take them with him. Idiáquez answered that his advice was neither

to take them nor to leave them. Although Don Diego understood the letter perfectly, he did not care to resort to such cruelty, and, after a short detention, he released them. He left Juan Rodríguez Barragán as his lieutenant at Cuzco. The artillery was in good order, the cannons clean, with the necessary powder. Carts were brought up for its transport, and Pedro de Candía was the captain in charge of it.

As it seemed to them now that it was time to leave Cuzco, Don Diego ordered the captains to lead out their companies, the General in command being Juan Balsa, a a man of little resource. Having quitted the city they proceeded to pitch their camp in the valley of Xaquixaguana. Don Diego followed shortly; but Juan Balsa remained in the city to see that any soldiers loitering there were hustled away. After he was outside Cuzco, Don Diego was apprised that there were some in the camp who wanted to make off and go over to the enemy. These were Pedro Picón, Alonso Díaz, and Juan Montañés, all brave and capable soldiers.[1] For it seemed to them a bad business that they were engaged in; they wanted to desert their captain and pass over to him who came in the name of the king and with power, forsooth, to pardon them. But although they intended to leave the camp very secretly, Don Diego got wind of it, and they were promptly arrested, sentenced to death, and executed by strangulation with a cord, as a warning to others.

The Inca Manco, hating the Pizarros as he did, on hearing what was afoot, and that Vaca de Castro was in Jauja, with some of his men at Guamanga, and that Don Diego had quitted Cuzco, sent his messengers to Don Diego to tell him that he had retired to *Víticos*, owing to his evil

[1] None of them were actual murderers of the Marquis, though Picón was an accomplice who waited outside. They saw reason to expect pardon from Vaca de Castro.

treatment by Pizarro and the quantity of gold he demanded of him. For these reasons he made war on the Christians until Don Diego's father returned from Chile. Owing to the friendship he felt for his father, if Don Diego would go to Guamanga he would there meet him in peace. He further informed Don Diego that Vaca de Castro was in Jauja with a powerful army, and that he had some men at Guamanga. When Don Diego heard this, he gave orders for Juan Balsa to come away from Cuzco with the remnant of the soldiers who were there, with all possible speed; and at the same time he sent word to his lieutenant, Juan Rodríguez Barragán to hold the city with every precaution and care. Juan Balsa came accordingly with the rear-guard and such portion of the baggage as had been left there. In Xaquixaguana the order of the march was given out, which was that all were to travel on horseback, none on foot. No soldiers were to leave the camp to forage for provisions, for they travelled with an ample number of menials specially provided for that duty. A captain was to accompany the baggage day by day in turns. The people who were thus gathered together, if they had not lost Herrada or Sotelo, might certainly have accomplished some great deed, though it would have been very difficult.

CHAPTER LXXI

How Don Diego de Almagro and his followers quitted the valley of Xaquixaguana and set out for the Apurimac bridge, and how they thought of withdrawing to the Collao.

AFTER the execution of the three Spaniards, it was thought that all was secure, and that no more of those who followed the banners of Chile would desert or forsake them. Don Diego ordered that all should saddle

up and be ready to start. The tents were struck, the soldiers and commissariat men were collected, and everything was done with such regularity that no camp that had ever been pitched in that Realm was better managed. The daily stages were not very long. The various troops were halted in their order, and when the camp was formed it looked like a town, but an open space for fighting was always left, where the soldiers could form up in case of a sudden attack by the enemy. No one had meals in his tent. The tables spread around bore rations common to all, and terms of brotherhood and close companionship prevailed throughout. But the course and frailty of events soon overwhelmed them all with a calamity so great that the hills of Chupas will give testimony of it for all time. Wherever they halted there were no idlers. The men-at-arms exercised their bodies, or engaged in trials of skill with their pikes, while the mounted troopers did the same, and the arquebusiers practised their skirmishing. They made reconnaissances, and counter reconnaissances, and posted look-outs and sentries, all with such marvellous order and care that it was something to see. The Indians, who followed them constantly, set up their markets, or *tianguez*, where necessaries could be bought. Nevertheless, and although order was kept such as I have said, and there were few common people among them, but particularly spirited captains, knights of great bravery, most gallant soldiers, excellent artillery—yet, it would seem that they were too few to resist such numerous enemies as had assembled against them. And therefore, seeing plainly that they held no more land in their possession than that on which they stood, Don Diego and the captains in whom he placed most trust consulted together over what would be the wisest course for them to adopt.

They knew from the Indians and from the Inca himself that Vaca de Castro was in the province of Jauja, and had

augmented the force which had been collected by the captains who were at Guaraz. And further, that the whole Realm was turning against them and was paying no heed to anything but their destruction. They felt, too, that it would be a great piece of temerity if they presumed to tempt God, or trust to their luck, so far as to believe that they could overcome the forces marshalled against them, who were all Spaniards, when they themselves were so few. Considering what were best to be done in this business to prevent their enemies, Pero Alvarez Holguin and Gómez de Tordoya, from triumphing over them, it was concluded that it would be a profitable thing to advance as far as the Apurimac bridge, so that information of their going should reach the enemy who, thinking that of a surety they had gone in search of him, would stay where he was: whilst they, after crossing the bridge, could make good their retreat by a track that winds away towards the right into the country of the Quichuas and thence past the Charcas by a devious route, and thus evade their many enemies until time should make clear to them how they must act. But, though these were the plans discussed at this council, and though they intended to put them into practice, yet it did not please God that they should carry them through. For there were persons among them who had committed many murders, and had been the authors of numerous evil deeds, and they could not be allowed to escape punishment. So they marched by stages until they arrived at the bridge over the Apurimac, where they spent some days in repairing it, as it had been much knocked about and was in a ruinous state. When the captains and soldiers had passed over to the other side of the river, with the intention already explained, there put up at the rest-house of Curahuasi, where Almagro and his captains were already installed, a priest named Márquez, who, coming from Lima over the uninhabited wilds, chanced to reach this spot and

was freely welcomed by Don Diego and his people. He told Almagro and his captains privately that they need not be afraid of giving battle to Vaca de Castro, because the men who had joined him were not so numerous as had been stated, nor were they so well provided with arms and other things needful in war. They took heart from the conversations and remarks of this priest, and Martín de Bilbao and other captains said that they should march against Vaca de Castro and give him battle, because he had joined their enemies and adopted them as his defenders. Don Diego, too, agreed with him.

Some captains held to the earlier decision, and gave sound reasons for not pushing forward; but, after discussion, it was finally decided to go and take up a position at Guamanga and thence search for Vaca de Castro. They called upon Father Márquez to declare to all the soldiers the smallness of the force that Vaca de Castro was bringing, and that it was not fit to oppose the strength and efficiency they themselves possessed. The priest did this. Afterwards he said mass before all the Spaniards, and when it was over he affirmed, by that true body of God which had been in the chalice, that what he had told the captains and soldiers was fact. On hearing this oath they all rejoiced. They quitted that place the next day and, keeping the same order, marched towards Andahuaylas, where the Chief, named Guasco, had carried off all the provisions to a place of hiding. For being in the *encomienda* of the wealthy Diego Maldonado who, he knew, was with Vaca de Castro, this Chief was unwilling to befriend the opposite party. Moreover he had a writ from Vaca de Castro empowering him to kill any Spaniard of the men of Chile's party who should countermand the Governor's requisitions. When the Spaniards saw that the Indians were not peaceably disposed, they were enraged with them; but this was no time to busy themselves with punishing

Indians, so they made their own preparations for getting onward as best they could, having first despatched the licentiate de La Gama with an embassy to the camp of Vaca de Castro to discuss peace. Vaca de Castro ordered him and those who came with him to lodge at Guaylas, which is on the other side of the river. He listened to the message of the embassy, and remarked that there were many in the camp of Don Diego who desired to quit the error of their ways, but had not been able to contrive to do so. The upshot of this embassy was, that Vaca de Castro directed that Juan Balsa and another leader from among the principal men should come, and he would discuss terms of peace with them.

At this time, Don Diego had arrived at the royal residence of Vilcas, where he made himself secure, and pitched his camp among those ruined [Inca] edifices, under the superintendence of his Sergeant-major Suárez, a trusty fellow well versed in affairs of war. Here Don Diego and his captains determined to send messengers afresh to Vaca de Castro, in order to treat for peace; and they deemed that it would be of great help in justifying their claims if two letters were written, one by Don Diego and the other by his captains. I possess the originals of those letters, which I here set down word for word, as it is my habit to do with many others that I put in and will put in. The messenger who carried them was Lope de Idiáquez. The letter from Don Diego ran thus:

Letter from Don Diego de Almagro to the Governor Vaca de Castro

"Very magnificent Sir,

News that I have heard has disquieted me to such an extent that, were it not affirmed by eye-witnesses,

I could not have imagined that your Worship, coming as his Majesty's minister to establish peace and justice in this his land, is favouring the very people who have disturbed it: a thing unheard of and truly unworthy to be believed of such a person, and one so qualified, who, combining great tact with abilities that many others have lacked—according to what has been publicly stated hereabouts—was selected for the Presidency of [the Audience of] Panamá and for the redress of grievances.

It seems to me that your Worship is adding point to the injuries done to my father by the Pizarros; for, whilst their followers are the men who sowed the trouble in these parts, your Worship comes not to root them out, that the evil seed may be lost, but conspires with those who have hitherto helped to maintain it against me and against those who are striving with me to defend so just a cause, together with the well-merited favour of the territory and government of New Toledo, which his Majesty granted to my father for his very signal services.

On account of those services it was his pleasure that I, as a grateful and dutiful Prince, should enjoy the position after his day, as your Worship will have learnt from the licentiate Antonio de La Gama and the assessor Gonzalo Hernández who, I make no doubt, have been with you now some days. Besides the credentials I gave them, they carried certain instructions and drafts to discuss with your Worship; but as I am not certain whether those about your Worship's person will have taken steps to prevent my pleas from being heard, or my messengers from stating them to your Worship on my behalf, I am now sending, charged with the same, Lope de Idiáquez who, actuated solely by zeal for his Majesty's service, and free from all bias, as those who know him are aware, has resolved to undertake this mission, without my being

able to deter him from it, in spite of its dangerous nature at the present time, owing to the native Indians waging war and not sparing the life of any Christian; which natives say and declare that what they do is by your order, communicated to them by Maldonado, on the part of your Worship, through his servant named Juan de Pinos, who is now in their villages, and that Palomino and other dwellers in Guamanga are spurring them on to act up to it. This has been the cause of ten Christians being killed, some of whom were on their way home to Spain with what they possessed; and, in addition to that, the Indians have seized their holdings. Notwithstanding all these alarms he [Idiáquez] has been ready to risk his safety in this praiseworthy effort. He sympathizes with the Indians for the vast toil and loss of life suffered by them, and recognizes the great evils that would fall upon this country if your Worship persist in the aims which I am assured you have in view. He knows well what has happened in these parts since they were discovered, what faults the Pizarros have committed, and what was done against my father and those who followed him. He knows my intention, for I have declared it; he knows my right [of possession], and will state my justifications for me as one who understands how proper and equitable I hold them to be, that that right may be preserved to me.

And having sent those whom I did send with what I have to say, but having as yet received no reply from your Worship nor from them, I am earnestly hoping to learn what moves your Worship to side with my enemies in this regard. Since therefore, the bearer will fully and always truthfully explain matters, I will not dally with the subject, but commit myself entirely to his statement, which is, that—being aware that your Worship comes against me with an armed force for my detriment, in

association with my enemies, or it were better to say his Majesty's enemies—being myself likewise in arms, not against your Worship but to support you against any who will not obey your Presidential decrees, as I will do if it should be necessary—and fearing that your Worship is deceived by those who appear to me so bent, I quitted Cuzco to go and seek for you; and on my arrival here I learnt what I have stated, which scandalized me not a little. So, however, let your Worship understand that I possess letters patent from his Majesty in which he constituted this Government in favour of my father, with a provision that it should devolve upon whomsoever he should leave it to; and he left it to me, his son, as set forth in the clause of his will, which, if you have thought proper, you will by now have seen, for the Licentiate and the Assessor conveyed it to you with every precaution.

I say that my followers and myself are servants and subjects of His Majesty, and, as such, we carry the imperial standard and fight under it in defence of this constitution, until His Majesty—being informed of the shameful death inflicted on my father and many of his followers, of the great wrongs done him and them, and of how the Pizarros killed him to rob him of what was his, that they might bribe whom they thought fit and become sharers of his property in despite of his heir [and such abominable outrages should never reach his Majesty's ears]—shall send to order whatever action will best conduce to his service. And if I should learn that the issue of his pleasure is that I am not to hold this Government in his name, I will resign it, together with the arms; and I and those about me will go, without any delay, to justify ourselves on bended knee before his imperial presence.

In case your Worship should not have joined with, or should sever yourself from, my enemies, you will receive my obedience accordingly; but I declare to your Worship

that, in the contrary event, my followers and myself will defend the boundaries of this Government, and oppose ourselves against all who would usurp them. Frankly, therefore, see the evils that may arise, and weigh well the situation, and the great disservice to God and to his Majesty. Consent not that the clouds which have gathered shall pour forth, and plunge the subjects of his Majesty, and the natives of this hapless land, in wretchedness yet greater than they have suffered in the past, which is not a little. Do not bring upon them the miseries of war; but, laying arms aside, let your Worship rest with the government of New Castille, and leave me with this which his Majesty has conferred upon me, where I shall see that the roads are opened up, and the Indians live in peace, and his Majesty's good pleasure is known, for that will I obey. And this I commend to your Worship not once, but twice, and thrice over, and as many times as of right I may and ought, in God's behalf and that of his Majesty; and as to the injuries and loss of life that must result in the land and among the natives of the soil, which are very pitiful to behold, and also the losses of royal fifths, so long as your Worship and those of your party remain obdurate, be they upon your Worship's head and upon the heads of your followers, and not upon mine and my companions'! For your Worship comes not wanting peace—though you were sent to promote that, and not to foment war—but with sword in hand and the favour of my enemies, to slay me and mine for defending his Majesty's territory, which he has conferred upon me by commission. And therefore, being unwilling to gloss over these scandals, I say that the cause of them will be laid to your Worship's account. If you do not seek me out I will endeavour to delay this affair for so long a time as I may be able to, and while not constrained to strike

in my own defence; pending a knowledge of what course his Majesty may be pleased to direct to be taken in reference to the despatch which Jerónimo de Surbano carries from me, and who is by now surely in yonder country [Spain] with it. But if your Worship acts to the contrary I shall not quit the field until one or the other side lies vanquished.

And I pray to God to hear me, now as in the past, that I may inspire the whole country with devotion to his Majesty, and restore his royal fifths and estates which have been so plundered in the past, and daily look to be yet more so, by the disturbers of the peace who have come from Cuzco. Furthermore, I would bring the Inca, the natural lord of these parts, to his allegiance, for it is my enemies who have been the cause of his not submitting through my intervention before; and I hope to see this very soon, for though he is an Indian he recognizes the treasons and misdeeds of the Pizarros and their adherents, as such, and the justice and right that are on my side, and upholds me. Thus the Inca leads the way for me in making war upon those false servants of his Majesty; and against your Worship likewise (unless you change your front) for having linked yourself with them. Yet I hold it for sure that your Worship can have no desire to injure me, if it be, or has been, in your power to do so. Farewell.

Vilcas, the fourth of September of [the year] one thousand five hundred and forty-two."

DIEGO DE ALMAGRO.

The foregoing letter was given by Don Diego de Almagro out of his own hand to Lope de Idiáquez; and also this other, from the Captains, which, taken from the original without altering a sentence or anything else, ran word for word thus:—

Letter from the Captains of Don Diego to the Governor Vaca de Castro

"Illustrious Sir,

We have not yet heard the thunder of justice which your Lordship comes to establish in these parts, nor seen the flash of the justice you wish to afford us, for we have been blind these many days. Your Lordship was right in holding us to be servants and vassals of his Majesty; but we could not persuade ourselves that we are so if we let pass in silence what we hear, and did not announce to your Lordship what the service of God and of his Majesty appears to us to be. Of this we are confident, that, if your Lordship takes the opinion of our enemies, in nothing will you advance the cause of peace in preference to war. God loves peace, and in his name Don Diego de Almagro loves it out of respect for God and his Majesty's interests. We also desire it as being his right, and because we see him inclined towards every good purpose. And as a messenger offers who will give your Lordship a full account of our wishes, we refer you to him. Further we say, that his Majesty's interests cannot be served by a war and the deaths of so many people; and since, coming as your Lordship does in company with our enemies, this cannot be avoided, we beseech your Lordship to part from them, and, placing yourself between us as mediator, strive to bring about some sort of agreement until his Majesty, on being made aware of what has occurred, and of the justice of Don Diego's cause, shall decide according to his royal will. For we, who have hitherto helped, and will continue to help until death, to maintain the privilege which his Majesty granted to Don Diego's father, and to Don Diego himself in his name, of this government of New Toledo, do declare to your Lordship that, if you persist

in opposing it by force of arms, you will find us on its frontier defending it against all the world until his Majesty may otherwise command: and unless we know that, of his imperial pleasure, he has issued a command to us to the contrary, we fight until those of one party are vanquished.

Now that our rights and our minds are known to your Lordship, also our equipment of artillery, munitions, friends, and arms and the rest, as well as very stout wills to attack against odds, we supplicate you, again and again, for some fair arrangement for peace. Being all in agreement, we unanimously ask this from your Lordship in the name of God and his Majesty, with all the respect we owe and are under obligation to observe. If it be refused, we protest that all the harm, shortages, deaths of men, losses of land and of its natives, deterioration of royal fifths and estates, will lie at the doors of your Lordship and of those who are banded with you, as persons who on account of their private interests do not desire peace, but neglect the service of our King for the sake of profit, and do not support the Governor and Ministers. So then we approach you betimes and peacefully, and, finding your Lordship, as we are informed, thus committed to war against subjects of his Majesty among whom you were sent here to preserve harmony, we ask for that which it is your bounden duty to promote.

And why is it that Pero Alvarez and Tordoya, and the passionate men who went from here in their company, and have now been received into yours, are now urging you to come against Don Diego and us who follow him, giving you to understand that of the people who favour him, some, on hearing the King's name, will go over to your Lordship, and others will make off to Chile, so that you would be able to become a great lord and acquire land without risking anything? To this we

reply that Don Diego, and we who are with him, have the will of his Majesty, and the good of his service more at heart than our own lives and properties. We, therefore, support his royal decrees; and since you have sheltered yourself under the protection of our enemies and come against us in such ruthless fashion, seeking to destroy us and put to death those of us whom they list, we now assure your Lordship that, in the hour when we hear that your Lordship is moving against Don Diego, we shall march to do battle with minds galled by the ill treatment we have received and expect to receive, from your Lordship, if we do not defend ourselves. It seems to us that in this course we fulfil a duty we owe to God and to our King, so that we at no time fail to be deemed his true subjects and vassals, and jealous guardians of his honour like faithful servants. And wishing to be the same towards your Lordship we cannot exaggerate the boon we should feel it if your Lordship would ponder this deeply and become a mediator, and not remain partial on the side of the most unjust cause in the world. But if peradventure you will not reconsider it, we trust that God will make his justice manifest, as in the past. Feeling sure that your Lordship will see that what we ask is the best, we will not prolong our argument any further. From Vilcas, September fourth one thousand five hundred and forty-two.

Juan Balsa (*killed in flight*)[2]
Diego de Hoces (*hanged*)[1]
Diego Mendez (*killed for the murder of the Inca Manco*)[1]
Martin de Bilbao (*killed in battle at Chupas*)[1]
Cardenas (*hanged*)[2]
Pedro de Candia (*killed by Don Diego at Chupas*)
Martin Cote (*hanged*)[1]
Juan Gutierrez Malaver[2]
Pedro de Oñate (*hanged*)[2]
Juan Perez (*hanged*)."[2]

[1] Murderers of the Marquis Pizarro.
[2] Accomplices.

When this letter had been written it was entrusted to Lope de Idiáquez for him to deliver to Vaca de Castro, and he was to do his best to avoid any breach, adhering to the saying of Cicero that he had "never known a peace so bad but it was not better than a good war." Although Don Diego and his captains could easily have enjoyed peace if they had been so minded, yet people desirous of laying violent hands on what does not belong to them are not wont to keep or appreciate that blessing. Idiáquez intended to conduct the negociations in such a way that they should have a good ending.

CHAPTER LXXII

How the Governor Vaca de Castro quitted the province of Jauja for the city of Guamanga, where the captain Diego de Rojas then was.

AFTER the Governor, Vaca de Castro, had adroitly restored friendship between the captains Alonso de Alvarado and Pero Alvarez Holguin, and had distributed among the soldiers all the arms that were there, he addressed them, urging them to prove themselves strong men, and so firm that, by chastising the insurgents, the country might be free from oppression and his Majesty absolute lord of the land. For the despatch of business he brought with him as his secretary Pero López, a native of Llerena, as we have already said, and he ordered him to keep the letters which the licentiate de La Gama and the assessor Gonzalo Hernández had brought. And as the infantry had already begun to march out, an order was given to the cavalry to do the same, and the Guancas were requested, in friendly words, to provide Indians for carrying the munitions and camp baggage, which they did. When all was in order, the

Governor set out, with the royal standard of the eagle carried by Rodrigo de Campo. They marched in good order until they reached the village of *Picoy*, where they had a short rest, being anxious to get on to Guamanga, where Diego de Rojas had taken up a position and prudently built a fortress for his garrison to remain entrenched in if he should be attacked by the enemy. As it was thought certain throughout the Realm that there would be a battle between the factions of Pachacama and Chile,[1] public prayers were offered up, especially in the city of Lima, where they made great sacrifices to our God, the monks of all the orders going forth in processions, and praying for Divine aid, and that the victory might be given to Vaca de Castro, because he was waging war in the name of the king. The Spanish women, on their part, did the same, and fearing lest victory might fall to the Chile party, they put their goods and chattels on board the ships, intending, if the news should prove bad, to embark also themselves.

Diego de Rojas received word that Don Diego was at Vilcas, and sent messengers to Vaca de Castro, urging him to come to Guamanga with all possible speed, to forestall the enemy's approach. When this news reached the Governor at Parcos it caused great excitement, as if the enemy were already charging lance in hand, and the alarm was given at once. The Governor, in a state of perturbation, went from place to place, ordering his troops to march off in haste and occupy Guamanga. He ordered Captain Pedro Anzures to rush back and call up Alonso de Alvarado, who had dropped behind with his company of lancers, as well as the rest of the people who were still on the road. Pedro Anzures went back and gave the news to Alonso de Alvarado, who presently arrived at Parcos. The Governor then advanced, going down by

[1] *i.e.* of Vaca de Castro and Diego de Almagro.

the way where Juan Chico was killed, when the ill-fated de Morgobejo retired to die on the heights of *Lunahuana*. From there Vaca de Castro ordered Lope Martín to push forward on horseback to Guamanga and find out whether Diego de Rojas had any further news. He came back with the same news they had before. As some of the companies of foot had gone far ahead, the Governor gave orders for them to be halted until the whole force was together. At *Vinaque* he pitched the camp with them all united. From the scouts sent out by Diego de Rojas, the news came that Don Diego was marching down from Vilcas to occupy Guamanga. This report caused more excitement than the former one, and Vaca de Castro held a consultation with his captains, whereat it was decided to push briskly forwards so as to reach Guamanga before Don Diego could enter it. They began their march in great disorder, so that, if the enemy had been near, they would easily have been routed. On arriving at Guamanga, the various sections entered the *plaza*, and mounted the culverins they had brought with them, at the ingress to the streets. They remained there that night, and next day the truth was learned, which was that Don Diego was still at Vilcas, and had not started nor moved his men the distance of an arquebus shot. The Governor passed out from the city on the side towards Vilcas, the tents were pitched, and the captain Pedro Anzures arrived with the laggers behind and the baggage train, so that all were united.

CHAPTER LXXIII

How Idiáquez arrived at the camp of Vaca de Castro to treat for peace just when the Governor wanted to send messengers to Vilcas.

VACA DE CASTRO and his captains consulted together, after the camp had been pitched in the manner related, as to what should be their next step, being now so near the enemy. All agreed that messengers should be sent to Don Diego, demanding that he should withdraw his unjust pretensions, enter his Majesty's service, and deliver up his banners and troops. The messenger was also to take letters and despatches to some of his principal adherents. The Governor had just ordered his secretary to get the letters written when Lope de Idiáquez and the factor Mercado arrived and went in to see Vaca de Castro. The letters of Almagro and his captains were presented together with the protocol of terms proposed, which were that Vaca de Castro should disband the force he had collected, that Don Diego would do likewise with his, that Vaca de Castro would withdraw to Lima and remain there as Chief of New Castille, and that Don Diego would return to Cuzco and the province of New Toledo until the king should make his pleasure known; and other things not needful to quote. The Governor Vaca de Castro displayed some anger and vexation at the letters they had written to him. But he had doubts whether to pursue the war, and privately desired peace, knowing that there would be a great slaughter, since there were men of such fortitude and undaunted spirit on both sides, and that it would lie in his hands to give battle, but in God our Lord's to award the victory to whom He pleased. So, wishing in his own mind to avoid a day so critical as must be that on which the

battle would take place, he had his most influential supporters summoned to a consultation, together with his captains, and they discussed the question of what they ought to do, somewhat hotly. They decided that Vaca de Castro should write to Don Diego and to all his captains, in a kindly and mild tone, to attach them to the service of his Majesty and to propose that Juan Balsa should come to the royal camp to ratify peace, while, to fully assure him of safety and that he need not be in any fear of treachery, Alonso de Alvarado would go to Don Diego's camp.

So the Governor ordered his secretary, Pero López, to write the letters forthwith, urging Don Diego to yield to the call of his Majesty's service, and reminding him of the labours undergone by his father to acquire honour and fame; so that he should not lose, by his conduct, all that the old Adelantado had gained. The letter to Don Diego pointed out too that nothing had been altered by his father's death, as it was understood that he [the son] lacked level-headed and prudent men to give him temperate advice but that, nevertheless, he ought not to pin his faith on arms and artillery alone, for if the conscience be not clear, force avails but little, seeing that it is ordained from above by command of the Most High God that justice must prevail. Besides this, he wrote other things counselling him what was proper, and bidding him give ear to what Lope de Idiáquez and the factor Mercado would say, from him, when they should get back. Letters were also written to the captains, urging them to join the service of the king, and they gave private letters to the messengers for many other persons in the camp.

CHAPTER LXXIV

How Vaca de Castro, notwithstanding that he had entered into these negotiations, sent Alonso Çamarilla as a spy to the camp of Don Diego, with letters to many who were there, and how he was captured by Juan Diente when scouts were sent out from Vilcas, and on confessing what he went for, was put to death.

HAVING issued the despatches to the messengers who were to carry them, the Governor Vaca de Castro resorted to a precaution, by which he sought, privily and without the messengers who were engaged in the negociations knowing it, to send a spy. This spy was a certain Alonso García Çamarilla, a great walker whom we mentioned in an earlier book, when he was sent by Hernando Pizarro, during the siege of Cuzco, to Yucay with Manco Inca. They then wanted to kill him, but he escaped from thence by his swiftness of foot, because his place of sepulture was destined to be at Vilcas. In all the land there was not a man ready and fitted to act the spy, unless it were this one, and Juan Diente who captured him, as we shall relate. Having removed his beard and casting off his Spanish clothes, he put on the garb of an Indian, rubbed his lips and back teeth with that precious herb which grows on the skirts of the Andes, and leaving the sword of which he was unworthy, he took a staff in his hand, and in a pouch or small wallet he put the letters which Vaca de Castro gave him for the camp of Don Diego. Having acquainted himself with the features of that camp and the method that was observed in it he was to return with all diligence and make his report. In such wise was Alonso García despatched, that anyone who saw him set forth from the camp would, of a certainty, have believed he was some Indian. Lope de Idiáquez and the factor Mercado also took their leave of the Governor.

At this time the Chile faction, after they had despatched those who were to treat for peace, were very watchful in their camp. They sent scouts out in all directions, that their enemies might not take them unprepared; and one day it fell to the lot of Juan Diente, an excellent soldier and great walker, to go out scouting. He struck away to the right of the position of Vilcas, near some snowy mountains, and went up to the crest of a ridge to see if by chance any Spaniard might be coming in the direction of Guamanga. Alonso García was then coming along, and had a mind to pass that way; he was seen, however, by Juan Diente who thought he was an Indian, as the man's dress led him to assume. Nevertheless Diente went briskly down towards the place where he had seen him. Alonso García, who travelled by no means unwarily, raised his eyes to the high crests and snowy tracts above and noticed the Spaniard coming down. Seeing that he was one of the enemy he turned back into another path which led to some great rocks and deep caves. Diente, who excelled him in agility, got down with no little difficulty; and following the other's trail, his great experience told him that the man in front was not an Indian. He went forward and presently he overtook him already hiding in one of the caves. Though Alonso García was a tremendous walker and a unique spy, he came at last to be captured by Juan Diente, who was a better, though no other man in the country was his equal. Having secured him, Diente took him, as a prisoner, to the camp at Vilcas; where, in obedience to military emergency, and notwithstanding that he had been a soldier of the old Adelantado's, they tortured him until he confessed that he came as a spy, and with letters from Vaca de Castro, and other things. In payment for his activities, and the mischief those activities would have brought upon the men of Chile if Juan Diente had not outwitted and captured him, Don Diego

ordered that Çamarilla should be hanged. When they were about to fix the rope round his neck he said these words: "By the pass in which I am, I tell you that there are a thousand and one hundred fighting men against you, very well equipped, and thoroughly bent on your destruction. This I say because, although you are taking my life, it irks me that you should be undone." Then the rope was tightened, and he yielded up his soul.

The words that Juan Diente [1] spoke to those indomitable captains and soldiers with such earnestness caused no fear in the minds of those who were no more than five hundred and fifty, while their enemies numbered one thousand one hundred. With great uproar, grasping their beards in their hands, they declared that they would not be a party to any terms for peace, but rather would they give battle undaunted by any power that might come against them. I know not what cause may have inspired the few to feel so little fear against the many, for they had all been born in that country which is comparable to a bullock's hide.[2] And in truth, it was ordained that many or all of them for their sins were never again to see the land of their birth. Cruel fortune was about to make an end of the warriors from Maule, and overthrow the Chilean faction at a single blow. Fired with enthusiasm they one and all vehemently sought for battle, though I cannot tell whether they sought it through the stimulus of valour or overmastering anger. Some there are whom fear of expected disaster drives to risk every danger; and these waited very anxiously to see what result the negotiation, that Lope de Idiáquez had gone to conduct, might have. One Francisco Gallego went over to the enemy whilst out scouting, and before that, Juan García, Pero López de Ayala, Diego López Becerra, and others who had been friends of García de

[1] Should be Çamarilla.

[2] Spain in geographical outline.

Alvarado had done the same. But although these had escaped, and it was clearly known that some others had the same desire, this was not enough to daunt the Almagrists, or put fear into their adamantine hearts, for they already held the latter cause fixed in their breasts.

CHAPTER LXXV

How the messengers returned to the camp at Vilcas, no way being found that could lead to peace, so that they had to trust to arms for the defence of their cause.

WHEN the letters were given to Alonso García, neither Lope de Idiáquez nor the factor Mercado observed it, because the others took care that they should not know or understand. They left Guamanga with the letters and despatches they were given, and travelled until they reached Vilcas. The terms demanded by Vaca de Castro were then made known. He required the Almagro camp to be broken up, and that Martín de Bilbao, San Millán, Diego de Hoces, Juan Rodríguez Barragán, Martín Cote and the others who had been concerned in the death of the Marquis, should be given up to him; and promised that the fullest mercy would be shown to Don Diego in the name of his Majesty. To effect this settlement Juan Balsá was to go to Guamanga, and the captain Alonso de Alvarado was to come to Vilcas, so as to avoid by this plan the vast evils that would result if the war continued.

The captains resolved to meet and consider what should be done, Don Diego and the messengers being also present at the consultation. After some discussion they decided to send Juan Balsa to offer that if Vaca de Castro would pardon the murderers, they would abide by his terms as regards everything else. While affairs were in a fair way to reach this conclusion, a letter came on the scene, which

Agamenon had written to Pedro de Candía, his father-in-law, inciting him to tamper with the artillery, for he saw that he had gone astray and was acting against the service of his royal Majesty, and warning him that, such was the strength of the Governor's forces, the Almagro party could not fail to be conquered, and that then they would be looked upon as traitors: and other things in like strain. This letter was brought from the aforesaid Agamenon by an Indian, and at the time when he delivered it, this Indian was asked whether any other Spaniard had seen the letter: he replied that the messengers had read it. Pedro de Candía, on reflection, then guessed that this was a snare laid to entrap him;[1] so without reading the letter he went straight to the consultation of officers which was just then in progress, where he showed the letter and read it openly. At this, the lives of the messengers came near being forfeited there and then: so monstrously indignant were Don Diego and the others on seeing that while in one hand they brought an appeal for peace, they craftily waged war with the other. In a raging passion all swore that they would conquer or die, ordering the messengers to go back with that for an answer, and tell the enemy to hurry up, and that neither they nor any other messengers were to return again with overtures, if they valued their lives. Thus was every way towards peace closed. The messengers did not dally, but promptly got their horses and were hustled out of the camp. Don Diego de Almagro, mounted on a powerful steed, ordered a general muster of all his men in the *plaza*, which occupied a triangular space between the ruined palaces and the temple of the sun. As they were all so fond of the youth there was little slackness in obeying his command, and stationing himself in the midst of them all, Don Diego thus addressed them:

[1] As his name implies, the wily Pedro was a Cretan.

"Oh my companions and loyal friends!—I well believe that none of you are ignorant of the great merits, valour and liberality of the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro, my father, or unaware that his was the first sword to reclaim from their savagery the multitude of barbarians in this region and in those which extend as far as the river Maule, thus bringing many of them under the Spanish yoke and into the royal service. He was the ladder by which the Pizarros rose, in recompense for which he was most cruelly deprived of his life. Afterwards, through lack of attention in Spain in providing for the administration of justice for which we waited, and finding, as was publicly known, that the Judge who was coming would be disposed only to add to our troubles and forlorn condition, and would not afford us justice (as he had been appointed through the influence of that warm befriender of the Pachacama party, Cardinal Loaysa) and seeing that we were denied on all sides the justice we had so long been expecting, it pleased God to lift the veil from his hidden judgments and, that they might be known now and for ever, to let the Marquis pay with his life for the death which through his cruelty and that of his traitor brother had been inflicted on my father. Well! since our Lord put such fortitude and spirit into your hearts that without difficulty you became indomitable men ready for any deed of strength, willing to suffer great hardships, hunger, cold and heat, I entreat you, in all earnestness, not to fail now, when fortune calls upon us to defend our lives and honour, which are poised but on the points of our lances and in the bullets of our arquebuses. Therefore I bid ye sally forth from this fort with willing heroism to seek out our enemies, and to let them understand the gallantry and courage with which our persons are endowed. And should it not please God to give us the glory of victory, we shall at least sell our lives at such a price that no one else will care to

purchase them, whilst winning perpetual fame by our deeds. Upon that soldier who shall bring me an enemy's head, from that moment I will bestow the lordship of his victim's *repartimiento*, and, if he should have been a married man, the victor shall step into his place in the marriage chamber, and enjoy the society of the widow."

Young Don Diego had scarcely finished his speech when the soldiers, raising their right hands, shouted clamourously to be led to battle. So the camp was at once broken up and next day they marched to *Pomacocha*, a strong position, where they proposed to halt, and even to wait until they could know whether the enemy had quitted Chupas to offer battle at *Sachabamba*, a suitable, open plain where artillery could be effectively used. But as Death was now hovering over their heads, in their eagerness and impetuosity they had the tents struck again, and insisted on moving forward to pass the night at Sachabamba, intending next day either to come face to face with the enemy, or march into Guamanga.

CHAPTER LXXVI

How the messengers arrived at the camp of Vaca de Castro, how it was learnt that Don Diego had left Vilcas, how Pedro Anzures went to reconnoitre; and how the opposing forces approached to give battle, each leader animating his men and exhorting them to fight.

THE time was now approaching when the hills of Chupas would be sprinkled with the blood of men who were born in Spain, to bear witness in future times that the herbs and stunted bushes growing on them are seedlings sprung from Spanish elements. And you! ghosts of Tabogan captains, if one may call you such, there in the place where your deeds have laid you, gaze upon the

fabric you have woven, and watch how your ever-binding oath is accomplished to the utmost! Ay, remember the famous Incas, with their Huayna Capac, and consider the dire vengeance being exacted for the ruin brought about in the Yupanqui lineage, and whether other weapons were not called for rather than those by whose means rash men brought about and wreaked that havoc. And you Romans! who so exalt the events that occurred in your Rome during the civil wars, see how there arose another mad struggle, near the equator, so long-drawn that eleven years sped by before it ended, wherein there were not wanting its Curios, its Scaevolas, its Centalios, nor its Brutuses! For in this war, while hearts were transfixed by lance, and bullets tore by their impetuosity the entrails and the caul, as if to cast the soul out by the mouth, some gave the battle cry "Almagro!" and others "Pizarro!" but all shouted for "the King!" I know not how I shall set about relating such a horror, nor which side I can look upon as in the right, but, after all, tyranny is a fearsome and hateful thing before the divine throne. And since I must not leave unfinished the task I have begun—though many times I have stayed my hand, and thrust the paper on one side that we might escape the sooner from such pangs—it will be necessary to relate what Lope de Idiáquez and the factor Mercado did when they left the camp which was about to become a sacrifice to its own folly. They were not a little glad to find themselves clear of it, and at once made for Guamanga.

The Governor, Vaca de Castro, having sent the messengers, and with them, as their text, the law of the *Partida*, which, according to the lawyers, declares those who deny obedience to the king to be traitors, he held a consultation with the principal leaders in his camp. Learning from the Indian Chiefs that Don Diego had departed from Vilcas, and suspecting that he might be going by the route of

Guaytara to Lima, where he would do even more harm than when he killed the Marquis, Vaca de Castro moved his forces from where they had halted, and marched that day, which was a Friday, until they took up a position on the level ground of *CHUPAS*. This was done on the advice of them all.

That night there was a storm so violent that nothing short of torrents of water fell from the clouds and thickness, accompanied by loud peals of thunder, insomuch that the very elements appeared to be enemies. They passed a very troublous night, for many soldiers had no protection from the rain for the arms they would have to fight with on the following day; and if the armies should meet it seemed likely that the artillery and arquebuses could do little harm. If this battle were being joined in Spain, or if one host encountered another in Italy, there would be no cause for wonder, and nothing need be stated beyond the fact that two thousand men met to kill each other. But it is a striking and remarkable thing that, after making such protracted voyages as those by way of the Southern Ocean, and arriving in driblets a few at a time, so many of our people should join together, and that, though in the aggregate their numbers are not large, they should cause all the nations and regions from the Strait to the uttermost parts of the land to tremble, without the barbarians daring to oppose them. I know well that two thousand Spaniards outside my country, wherever they may be, are feared, and that they can carry on civil war with terrible savagery, as will presently be shown by the case of a soldier who filled the post of Sergeant-major in the force of Vaca de Castro.[1] Never was a Marius, or Sylla, a Dionisius, or Falaris, his equal in cruelty; for in

[1] Francisco de Carbajal, afterwards the lieutenant of Gonzalo Pizarro and a ruthless executioner of traitors to his cause.

every phase of cruelty he showed himself a past master of the class I have mentioned and the trees[1] from Quito to the hill-crest of Potosí bear witness to it.

And now when the night was far spent and the falling snow had scattered many of its flakes over the face of the country, and the weather seemed clear enough to go forth, the Governor Vaca de Castro ordered a reconnaissance to be made. Presently a very laughable thing happened, which was that Don Pedro Puertocarrero, and one Juan de Mora, straying apart from the rest of the scouts, came to where there were some crags and great rocks. In the twilight Don Pedro thought they were the enemy's patrols and that he could dash through them to give notice to his captain, so he put his lance to the rest and charged the rocks in such fashion that the lance was shivered to pieces, and his horse and himself nearly broke their necks. Those who went out to reconnoitre that morning did get sight of the enemy scouts, and reported it to Vaca de Castro. Little time elapsed before the factor Mercado and Lope Idiáquez arrived where the Governor was, and reported what had occurred, and how the men of Chile had been minded to kill them; and finally that war was certain, and peace quite out of reach, for the enemy would brook none but what they might win at the point of their lances. They said that there were five hundred Spaniards at Vilcas, well armed and mounted, and some experienced fighting men amongst them, all firmly resolved to conquer or die. On hearing this the Governor ordered his secretary Pero López to enter it in the records together with the letters from Almagro and his captains. He then called a meeting of all his captains and combatant officers, and said to them: "You are aware of the correspondence I have had with Don Diego and his followers who are accomplices

[1] From which he hung his victims.

with him in the tyranny they have set up. To avoid bloodshed and for the service his father rendered to his Majesty I was anxious that this boy should not be lost, but he has refused to repent and enjoy the clemency and the pardon his Majesty would have granted him. On the contrary, he was on the point of murdering the ambassadors, and, not to mention the crafty and insincere letters he has written to me, now comes against us to give us battle with tyrannical fury, and an insatiable greed to usurp and rule over the Realm: a thing to which we cannot consent, nor allow such a great calamity to befall. That our men may take heart, and that punishment proportionate to so great a crime may be dealt, my decision is that he and his defenders are traitors, and that whatever may be found in his camp is lawful plunder."

The captains Alonso de Alvarado, Pero Alvarez Holguin, Garcilaso de la Vega, Diego de Rojas, Pedro de Castro and the Sergeant-major Francisco de Caravajal, and the rest who were present, replied that Vaca de Castro was Governor on behalf of the King, and very learned in letters, and that therefore they, as his executive, would support him in all things he might feel it right to be done. When the meeting broke up, the drums were sounded, the soldiers stood to their arms and, in a loud voice that all might hear, Don Diego and his confederates were proclaimed as traitors, unless they should surrender within six days from the date of summons. The soldiers of the King were given free leave, also, to loot the enemy's camp. Vaca de Castro did not hold a commission to proclaim this on his own authority, nor had his Majesty given him powers to that effect; but in such times war must be conducted in a way to instil fear. Having done this, Vaca de Castro retired into his tent, lifted up his hands before a crucifix, and besought God for aid, for he knew how strong His desire was for peace and how He deprecated war.

At this time the men of Chile were about a league from the Pachacama forces. Don Diego held a consultation with his officers to decide what should be done. There was some difference of opinion. Some thought that they should give battle to their enemies, which could easily be done. Others said that victory would be easier to gain by going out to the spur of Chupas, wheeling to the right, and marching into Guamanga. Having occupied that city the enemy would run short of provisions, and soon be in such straits that he would have to seek for them, whilst themselves, having by then chosen a position and formed a camp, would have the artillery so planted that the enemy would be broken up by it. This seemed a good plan to all present, and they set to work to carry it into effect; it being agreed that if the enemy should come against them on the way they must give them battle without waiting for anything else. Presently they started off accordingly, sending out scouts in all directions.

CHAPTER LXXVII

How the captains Castro and Pedro Anzures went out to reconnoitre, and how the royal army advanced to give battle, each captain encouraging his men and exhorting them to fight.

NOW approached that fateful Saturday [1] on which the battle was fought. All the heights of Chupas, and their steep slopes, were crowded with the natives of those regions, some following the Almagro faction, some the party of Pachacama. In both camps there were many *pallas*,[2] natives of Cuzco much beloved by the Spaniards, whose feeling they reciprocated, delighting to dwell in the

[1] 16th of September 1542.

[2] Inca ladies.

service of such doughty men and to act as proxies for their lawful wives in Spain. When they saw the last day of the war at hand they foresaw the death that must befall their lovers and wandered, wailing and dishevelled, according to the custom of the country, from place to place. The Indians made such a clamour that it was heard over the valleys and heights of Chupas and their yells were re-echoed beyond in the gorges of the Andes, so that these same Indians were frightened at the sound of their own voices. But they were delighted at seeing the spectacle of Spaniards fighting against each other without having any reasonable quarrel, and gave thanks to the Sun for the glorious revenge about to be taken for the ills that had been inflicted on their elders.

As the enemies were now drawing near together the men of Chile pitched their camp, with the intention of striking the tents during the second night watch and marching, if possible, into Guamanga, and thence by the Guaytara road on to Lima.

At this juncture the forces of Vaca de Castro were encamped in the valley of Chupas,[1] and to reach the summit of the spur there was more than a league of ascent.[2] The scouts sent out by Vaca de Castro had got so far as to see the camp of Don Diego, and, after a spirited discussion with other scouts of their party, returned to report that Don Diego was nearing the summit of the hills. When Vaca de Castro heard this, he ordered captain Pedro de Castro, with a hundred Spanish arquebusiers, to set out at once for the summit, and try to get there before the enemy could occupy it. Captain Castro immediately departed on this service, followed by Captain Pedro Anzures with his troop of lancers as a rear-guard.

[1] Ravine of Lambra Luopica, *not* Chupas.

[2] Only a mile and a quarter.

Using all possible speed, Castro reached the heights where he posted his company, Anzures following him closely. Soon they descried the scouts of Don Diego coming out from the camp to see what was going on and whether the enemy had pitched his camp or was making for the height. Seeing the arquebusiers there, it was clear to them that these were already in possession, and after some words had passed between them, such as are customary under such circumstances, they returned to the camp. Meanwhile, Vaca de Castro and his captains set out, in the best order they could, to join the soldiers who were in his camp and on the height. Moving as rapidly as possible, they arrived a little after the hour of vespers. Here there presently assembled Vaca de Castro and the captains

Pero Alvarez Holguin	Pedro Anzures
Alonso de Alvarado	Diego de Rojas
Garcilaso de la Vega	Francisco de Caravajal (*Sergeant Major*)

with other cavaliers and principal persons. They held a consultation to decide on what they should do, and whether it would be more prudent to give battle to the enemy on the following day, or to wait until it was seen what Don Diego de Almagro would do. There were differences of opinion among the gathering. Some, for reasons they gave, said that they ought not to give battle until they understood the enemy's intentions. Others said that they should leave the present position, and occupy one nearer the enemy, and that the choice of it would be in their own hands. Others also advised that the encounter should not be put off until later than the next morning at daybreak; because, at such times, a lost opportunity is not readily regained, and quickness and suddenness of attack count for much, whilst to delay is to court disaster. Alonso de Alvarado was of this opinion, and told Vaca de Castro

that, without further ado, the battle should be joined on the coming morn, for the soldiers were ready and eager and the first shock of a conflict is steady and forceful, because the heated blood courses through the body and gives strength to the men. If that flush of vigour wavers or cools down, their minds are apt to become more timorous than bold and they lose their steadiness. To this and other things, Vaca de Castro answered: "Is your brain good?"[1] and he proceeded to reply to what had been said. Finally it was resolved by all to give battle, and again they turned to encourage the men, urging that they fought for the honour of the King, and that they must display all the valour that was in them, with other exhortations.

Don Diego and his captains did not sleep during this time; on the contrary, they were thinking over further topics before deciding what they should do. They saw that they could not now, with the enemy so near, get into Guamanga without difficulty, and that it would be better to put that scheme aside and give battle; so, after commending themselves to God, they resolved to fight. Don Diego, seeing that the battle was inevitable, mounted his horse, with his lance in his hand, and, turning to the soldiers, addressed them thus: "Oh captains, to whom I owe so much, and soldiers so valorous! the battle must be fought, for the enemy is at hand. Bear in mind that to-day is the day when fortune promises us the government of the country, with full vengeance on our enemies and the best *repartimientos* for yourselves, so do not fail to smite those who have shown themselves to be our enemies. You know that neither has it been my desire nor yours to do anything contrary to the service of the King, and that in the end it will rest with your arms to condemn the loser

[1] *Y vuestro buen seso* [*sic*] in the manuscript.

as a tyrant, and the conqueror will be held to be loyal." Saying these words and others, he exhorted his friends to prepare for the battle they had to fight.

[DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY AROUND THE BATTLE FIELD OF CHUPAS.

By C. R. M.

The position of the battle of Chupas is interesting. Prescott and Helps had not a true idea of it. Prescott wrote of "the bloody *plains* of Chupas," and "the neighbouring lowlands known as the *plains* of Chupas": Helps as "the *valley* of Chupas." These are quite wrong terms for the place. Chupas is neither a plain nor a valley, but a farm on a lofty Andean spur.

The city of Guamanga (now called *Ayacucho*) is in 13° 8′ S. Lat., 72° 2′ W. Long., and 8660 feet above the sea. There is a small plain outside the town to north-west, called the *Pampa del Arco*, but the battle field was miles away, on the other side.

Guamanga is at the western base of the great maritime cordillera, its slopes descending in long spurs, with intervening ravines, to the city and its neighbourhood. The scene of the battle was high up, 9,500 feet above the sea, extending over two of these spurs and the ravine between them.

The road from Guamanga to Yca across the maritime cordillera, leaves the city along a pretty avenue, and then up the hill of Carmenca and the steeper ascent of Quica-pata.[1] Half way up this ascent a path turns off to the left, skirting along the spurs of the cordillera, and after two miles the ravine of *Lambras-huayccu*[2] is reached. Here, on the spur, Vaca de Castro formed his first camp. The stream below supplies Guamanga with water. In the upper part of the ravine there is a swamp during part of the year. Its width is about half a mile, more in some parts, wide enough for cavalry charges. On its further side the ascent is steep, and on this spur the artillery of Almagro was posted, near what is now the farm house of Chupas. All this country is now covered with wheat fields. Guamanga would be easily reached by following the Lambras-huayccu stream. Lying 9,500 feet above the sea, Chupas is exposed to storms of snow in the winter and early spring. Beyond Chupas, on another spur, is the farm of my old friend Don Manuel Tello, called *Cochabamba*. The view towards the cordillera is very grand. The sides of some of the gorges form perpendicular precipices, above which rise the snowy peaks. Beyond Cochabamba is the wheat farm of another of my old friends called *cojo* Arias;[3] and further on is the village of *Chiara*, whence the road leads by *Sachapampa* and *Pomacocha*, to Vilcas. This was the route taken by Almagro's army from Vilcas, after crossing the lofty ridge of Cangallo. Guamanga is now usually written Huamanga.

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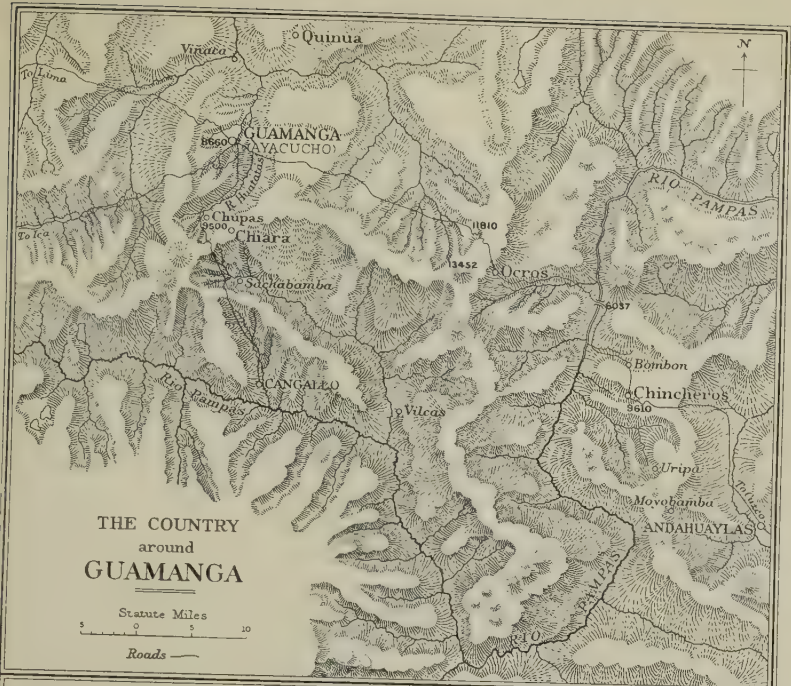
[1] *Quica* is grey in Quichua, *pata* an ascent.

[2] *Lambras* is the local name for a tree like an elder. *Huayccu* means a ravine.

[3] Lame (*cojo*) Arias. I did not know his Christian name.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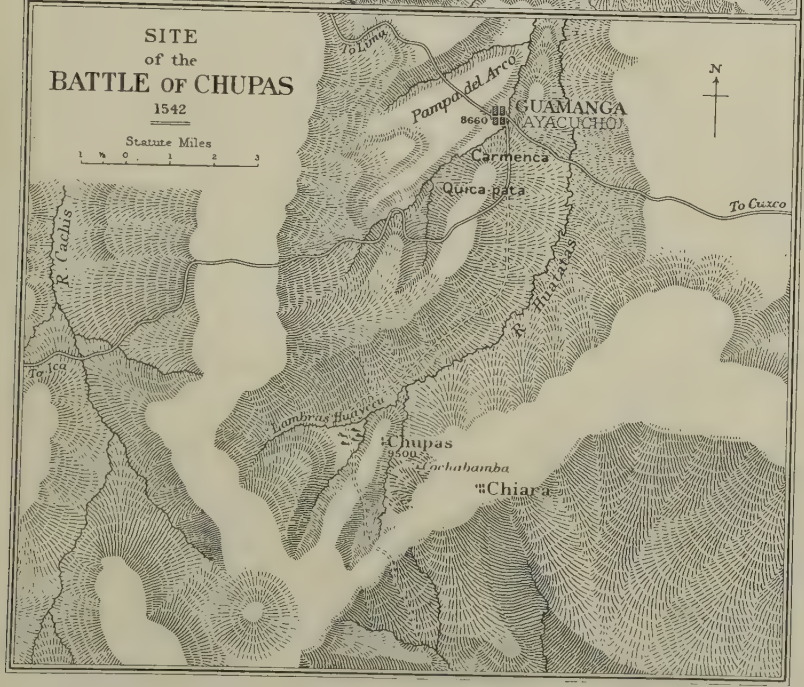
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Cojo Arias told me that bones and a spur had been found on his estate; also that Alonso de Alvarado brought some Indians of Chachapoyas with him and that, for services in the battle, they were granted land with freedom from tribute, and that they founded the village of Chiara. The wheat farm of Chupas belonged to Don Basilio Guillen.

My visit to the battle field of Chupas was on 26 February 1853.]

CHAPTER LXXVIII

Of the cruel battle between Vaca de Castro and Don Diego de Almagro, and how the men of Chile were routed and defeated with the loss of many lives, and their party for ever undone.

THE night having passed with great fears and hopes, each party thinking that they had justice on their side, the captains ordered the ensigns to muster their companies, and to give the signal by beat of drum that the soldiers, on hearing it, might know that the time for giving battle was so near that it only needed one side to strike the first blow. So the men of Chile went forth full of ardour, and raising their shouts to heaven, advanced with their hearts animated against their foes, and with minds longing to satisfy their hatred of their enemies. Their artillery, consisting of sixteen pieces, was placed in a good position, so that, from whatever point the enemy might try to assail it, it would overcome all attacks. The cavalry was formed into two squadrons, one under Don Diego himself and Juan Balsa, the other led by the captains Saucedo and Diego Méndez. One of these squadrons was larger than the other, and its flanks were held by Diego de Hoces and the same Diego Méndez. The infantry, stationed in rear of the artillery, was under Martín de Bilbao; and Martín Cote, a most valiant captain, led the arquebusiers, having detailed those necessary for the front of the squadron and either flank. The standard was planted

near the squadron led by Don Diego, and Pedro de Candía was with the artillery, ready to fire whenever the order should be given. The Sergeant-Major, Pedro Suárez, went about from one part to another, giving necessary orders. He was relied upon for his knowledge of war, having served in several countries, and being well versed in the art. In the forefront of the squadron there were men at arms posted, and the whole force numbered 550 Spaniards, a very brilliant array, for in truth there were cavaliers of good family, as we have pointed out in several places.[1]

While Don Diego and his followers were marshalling their forces, Vaca de Castro ordered Lope Martín, a bold man, to mount his horse and go forward to reconnoitre the enemy's position. He did so, and returned after he had seen them, telling the Camp-Master Francisco de Caravajal how the artillery was placed. As soon as he knew this, he ordered his men to march more to the right, and led the way himself, saying many witty things. Then they saw that it was time to marshal the squadrons, and placed them in the positions assigned to them, with their banners. The captains Pero Alvarez Holguin, Gómez de Alvarado, Garcilaso de la Vega, and Pedro Anzures, with their companies of horsemen, formed one squadron. In the other

[1] The real truth was that there was not a single one of the old and trusted captains of the elder Almagro with his son; Diego de Alvarado had gone to Spain, Orgónez and Lerma were slain at or after Las Salinas, Francisco de Chaves had been murdered by Juan de Herrada, and Sotelo by García de Alvarado. The rest were disgusted with the murder of the Marquis and at Juan de Herrada being placed over them. Four, indeed, were actually fighting in the army of Vaca Castro, namely Gómez de Alvarado, Saavedra, Guevara, and Montemayor.

The murder of the ever faithful and very able Captain Sotelo was a fatal blow to young Almagro. There was no one at Chupas that he could trust. Six of his captains were actual assassins of the Marquis Pizarro, three others were accomplices outside the chamber. Little reliance could be placed on the rest. The assassins and their accomplices would be fighting with ropes round their necks and would fight hard. But the ill-fated young half-caste, with his ability and bravery, was doomed.

was the captain Alonso de Alvarado, with his cavalry, and the royal standard. The infantry were formed up between the cavalry squadrons, with the captains Pedro de Vergara and Juan Vélez de Guevara at their head, and the captain Castro with the vanguard. They had 160 arquebusiers, and they mustered in all more than 700 Spaniards.

The Governor Vaca de Castro did not enter into the battle. He remained apart from the actual fray, giving it to be understood by his words that he wanted to fight, but, as the captains represented to him that this was not desirable, he retired. He sent to the squadron of Alonso de Alvarado, where the royal standard, then borne by Cristóbal de Barrientos was, saying that he desired twenty-seven of the principal persons to accompany him as an escort and bodyguard. When Alonso de Alvarado heard this, he sent to say that such a thing was not permissible; that, in an army of 20,000 men, the withdrawal or retention of even twenty men might turn the scale of victory. Although Vaca de Castro saw that there was reason in this, he again ordered his captain of the guard, Rodrigo de Ocampo, to come to him with Lorenzo de Aldana, Diego de Agüero, Francisco de Godoy, Diego Maldonado, the licentiate León, Antonio Navarro, Sebastián de Merlo, Cristóbal de Burgos, Nicolás de Ribera, and others up to twenty-seven; and these, whilst wishing to remain at the front, turned to obey the order of Vaca de Castro.

At this juncture, both sides discharged their arquebuses; and Francisco de Caravajal said: "Forward! good cavaliers, forward! advance without fear, and care nought for the arquebuses. Look at me, how fat I am, yet I go forward without feeling any fear of them." As they approached each other, the noise and the shouting were very great. Both parties advanced courageously, those of Don Diego shouting "Long live the King and Almagro," and the others "Long live the King and Vaca de Castro," all

calling upon the name of the apostle Saint James, while the bullets from the arquebuses filled the air.

The Camp-Master Pero Alvarez Holguin, after having passed through and shown some excitement during the day, charged his horse against the enemy, wishing to show his contempt for his opponents. Though men of great valour are often not recognized in the smoke of battle, Holguin was known by the device he wore. The enemy's arquebuses were pointed against him, and he was hit by two bullets before he could break his lance. He fell to the ground in the throes of death, and never spoke again—just able to make a sign to his men to dash at the enemy. Gómez de Tordoya was also wounded so badly that he died a few days afterwards. And now the two sides encountered each other, both infuriated one against the other. A great disaster to the men of Chile then happened. It was that, when the captain Saucedo saw that the sharpshooters were employing their arquebuses with effect, and had caused some deaths, he thought it would be well to move the artillery to another position, where one of the enemy's flanks was exposed—not noticing that it was already so placed as to rout them all the moment they should advance a little farther. He therefore ordered Pedro de Candía to move it, upon seeing which Sergeant-Major Suárez called out loudly to him not to budge, for if it did not remain where it was posted they were lost. But his words were disregarded and Candía transferred the guns to the position Saucedo had directed. Then the enemies mingled in the open with the soldiers of Almagro, and, though many cannon shots were fired off, only one took effect, which did much damage, tearing heads from bodies, and breaking the legs and arms of others. The other shots were fired, as some say, too high, or missed their mark owing to the artillery being so badly placed.

By this time great damage had been done and there were many dead. But were I to set forth in detail each

one who, when about to discharge a bolt, was shot through the heart by a bullet and so instantly fell dead,—or whose arms were shot away just as he was placing the match to fire,—or others killed suddenly by a bullet just as they were couching the lance or drawing the sword, the tale would never end. The squadrons of horse clashed, brother breaking lance against brother, but in that desperate peril no man would have hesitated to wound even his father, if he had seen him. One García de Mala, having lost an arm, went forth out of the battle to where Vaca de Castro waited, and asked him why he was not helping his people. On hearing this Diego de Agüero rushed excitedly into the fray, and confronted the enemy. A bullet passed through the mouth of Antonio de Loaysa, and knocked out several of his back teeth, causing him to swoon. The cavalry fought with desperate valour and with a fervour so inflamed by anger, that no one cared to be wanting in ability to wound. Antonio de Robles, having been thrown from his horse, without losing his intrepidity, and he had not a little, turned with much agility towards the artillery and wounded one of the gunners, also getting wounded himself. Pedro de Candía did not discharge any more shots. The noise made by all was very great.

The lad Don Diego whilst fighting away, was told that there had been treason in the artillery firing. It is said that he went to Pedro de Candía and exclaimed: "Traitor! why have you sold me?" and thrusting at him with his lance, killed him. Others will have it that Candía used deceit with Don Diego and was disloyal in the matter of the artillery, but that he was killed by some soldiers of Vaca de Castro who penetrated to where he was stationed. Don Diego, seeing that his life depended on gaining the victory, went about in all parts of the battle animating his men.

The captain Alonso de Alvarado, on this day, gave proofs of his valour, and fought with great intrepidity.

Diego de Rojas, Pedro Anzures, Garcilaso de la Vega, and Pedro de Guevara did likewise. The same is said of Juan Vélez de Vergara. The captain Martín de Bilbao fought with Pedro de Castro. The battalions of infantry had now driven home the pikes, and had penetrated their several quarries with the iron points until they reached the entrails. All were now turning back. Night showed signs of approach while yet the strife of battle was at its highest pitch; and at last, both sides being worn out with fatigue, they separated for a moment to gather breath for a renewal of the conflict. In the part where the captain Alonso de Alvarado was fighting, were Diego de Hoces and Saucedo with all the leading men of the Chile party. Some of these they killed, and whilst shouting "Victory!" they tried to capture others. Pedro de Vergara, with some infantry, bore a hand in that part, and Alonso de Alvarado being thus strengthened, ordered a renewed attack to disable the men of Chile, seeing how few there were. Against the grain they fell back for a short rest, still face to face, and then renewed the obstinate contest. Swords clashed down on helmets, stunning their wearers, and cut through coats of mail: then, pausing for a short space, apart, men glared at each other like bulls in the rutting season. Then the Sergeant-Major Francisco de Caravajal called out, in a loud voice: "Shame! shame! gentlemen of Cuzco! this is not a time for letting these traitors remain in the field against us," and so saying he rushed into the midst of the enemy. The horse of the licentiate Benito Suárez de Caravajal was killed, and he boldly took his place among the infantry, still fighting. There were many killed; and the wounded uttered mournful groans, yet encouraging those who fought, some with the battle cry of Almagro, others of Pizarro. The artillery was of no use and did no damage, because Pedro de Candía and his men being killed, there was no one to put a match to the guns.

As the battle was most fiercely contested in the part where Captain Alvarado was, Don Diego, either to encourage his men, or because he thought that his side was winning, began to call out loudly, "Victory! Take prisoners, but kill not!" Then it was that a thing happened from which it may well be said that death does not flee from a coward. The captain Pedro Anzures had a servant of whom he asked, many times, if he would not join in the battle. The man was not only unwilling, but, to be more remote from danger, he got under some rocks where he could have a clear view of what was going on, having by his side a small skin of wine. When the artillery was in action a shot struck the rocks where we have said this man was. It knocked off a boulder which fell and smashed the head and body of the man to pieces, so that he died, although he had been taking such care of himself.

The battle was at the critical point, and those who were standing with Vaca de Castro went forward to reinforce their friends. They went towards the place where the captain Diego Méndez was, thinking he was one of their party because victory was already certain for Vaca de Castro. As they went along singing a song of triumph, the men of Chile saw they were enemies, and they killed Montalvo with some others, cut off an arm of Cristóval de Burgos, a citizen of Lima, and wounded Merlo in the face. Thus they succeeded in doing more damage; but the Pachacama party, being the more numerous, though not surpassing their opponents in bravery, it began to be seen which side must win. Don Diego, and those of his captains who were still alive, continued to encourage the survivors wherever they went. The sun had now set, and after the men of Chile had done all that was possible to the utmost of their ability, they were defeated, and it became clear that Vaca de Castro's side were the conquerors.

A youth, named Jerónimo de Almagro, valuing his life

very little, and hating to be conquered, rushed in amongst the enemy shouting, "Hi! strike your blows at me! at me! and wreak your vengeance. 'Twas I who slew the Marquis." Saying thus he charged recklessly into the host, and received so many blows that he fell dead headlong. Martín de Bilbao did the same, saying that *he* had murdered the Marquis; and he met the same death as Jerónimo de Almagro.[1] Those who survived began to flee, with loose rein and no little anguish.

The Indians and negroes who took any men alive, killed them.[2] The Spaniards did uglier things, for they slashed the faces and bodies of those who had surrendered, and reviled them with words. Diego de Almagro fled towards Cuzco[3] with Diego Méndez, and the camp was pillaged. The Almagro party was routed and broken up for ever. This battle was fought late on Saturday afternoon the 16th of September, in the year of our redemption 1542.

There were present on the side of Vaca de Castro the captains already named and many other gentlemen, among whom were: Lorenzo de Aldana, Diego de Agüero, Francisco de Godoy, Pedro de los Ríos, Gómez de Tordoya, Diego Maldonado, Lope de Mendieta, D. Pedro Puertocarrero, Pedro de Portugal, Pedro de Hinojosa, D. Alonso

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[1] Both were assassins of the Marquis. They did this to escape the halter.

[2] Some authorities say that the Inca Paula and his Indians, on the side of Almagro, made an attack early in the day, which was repulsed.

[3] Juan Rodríquez Barragán, the ensign Enrique, and eight others also fled with Don Diego, as well as Diego Méndez.

Juan Balsa, Almagro's Captain-General, fled to Vilcas where he was killed by the natives. He had a house at Cuzco and had married an Inca Princess.

Some authorities say that Pedro Suárez, when he marshalled Almagro's army, told Don Diego to remain on the spur. His plan was to defend the ascent from the Lambras-huayccu ravine and not to attack. It is said that when Don Diego charged down at the head of his cavalry, Suárez told him that he would be defeated, but that if he had taken his advice he would have been victorious. It is added that he abandoned Don Diego, and went over to the side of Vaca de Castro. This story is not mentioned by Cieza de León.

de Montemayor, Lope Martín, Alonso de Mendoza, Diego Cénteno, Felipe Gutiérrez, D. Martín de Guzmán, Pero López (secretary), Juan de Mora, Vasco de Guevara, and others. With Don Diego there were the captains, and many valiant gentlemen and men, among whom were: D. Baltasar de Castilla, Jerónimo de Almagro, Martín Carillo, Juan Tello, Juan Ortíz de Zárate, Pantoja, Juan de la Rinega, Pedro de Oñate, and others.

The Licentiate Vaca de Castro was delighted at the good success and the victory that God had given him. He ordered certain priests and friars to attend on the wounded and to confess the dying. He also directed a very careful search to be made for those who were concerned in the murder of the Marquis Pizarro, that they might be punished. But as the night was already quite dark, the orders of Vaca de Castro could not be very completely carried into effect. Most of his soldiers thought of nothing but plunder, and of appropriating horses from among those that were straying about loose, and also of the Indian girls, who were what the soldiers were most eager about in those times.

[Other Officers in the army of Vaca de Castro at the battle of Chupas. (*Note by C. R. M.*)

Aliaga, Gerónimo de. Ancestor of the Counts of Lurigancho at Lima.
Alvarado, Alonso de. Cavalry—left wing.
Alvarado, Gómez de. An old captain of the Adelantado Almagro.
Anzures, Pedro de. Trusted captain of Pizarro cavalry—right wing.
Barbarán, Juan de.
Barriento, Cristóval, Ensign. Left wing.
Burgos, Cristóbal de. Wounded.
Caravajal, Illán Suárez de. Factor. Trusted friend of Pizarro.
Caravajal, Benito Suárez de (Licentiate), brother of the Factor.
Caravajal, Francisco de. Sergeant Major of the army. Led the Infantry.
Cáceres, Alonso de. Tried to hide Carillo after the battle, but failed.
Carrasco, Pedro Alonso.
Castro, Pedro de. An old and trusted captain of Pizarro. Garcilaso calls him Lope. Infantry.
Guzmán, Diego Ortíz de.
Hinojosa, Alonso de.
Hojeda, Juan Julio de.
Holguin, Pero Alvarez. Camp Master (*i.e.* Quartermaster-General); killed in battle. Cavalry—right wing.
Lara, Gaspar.
Loaysa, Alonso de. Brother of the Bishop.

Loaysa, Gerónimo de.
León (Licentiate).
Macerela, Alonso.
Melo, García de. Wounded
Mendoza, Lope de.
Merlo, Sebastián de. Wounded.
Montalvo. Killed in action.
Navarro, Antonio.
Ocampo, Rodrigo de.
Palomino, Juan Alonso.
Pancorvo, Juan de.
Quiñones, Antonio de } brothers.
Quiñones, Suero de }
Quiñones, Pedro de. Cousin.
Ribera, Nicolás de. An old friend of both Pizarro and Almagro.
Ríos, Diego de los.
Rojas, Diego de. A trusted young captain of Pizarro.
Rojas, Gabriel de.
Saavedra, Juan de. An old captain of the Adelantado Almagro.
Salas, Juan de.
Salas, Valdés de.
Serra, Miguel de la.
Soto, Alonso de.
Truxillo, Diego de.
Vásquez, Tomás. A turbulent character in every row.
Vega, Garcilaso de la. Captain for Pizarro, always loyal, always trustworthy. Cavalry — right wing.
Verdugo, Melchor.
Vergara, Juan Vélez de. Infantry.
Vergara, Pedro de. Infantry.]

CHAPTER LXXIX

How, after the battle, the Governor ordered the wounded to be tended, and had Gómez de Tordoya carried to Guamanga; how retribution was inflicted on the conquered, and how Gómez de Alvarado, being ill, died at Vilcas, and was taken to be buried at Guamanga.

ON the night after the battle it was very sad to hear the groans of the wounded, and the complaints they gave utterance to. But they received very little pity or help; on the contrary, the barbarians slaughtered them and stripped them of their clothes and left them naked. The captain Gómez de Alvarado was attacked by an illness of which he died at Vilcas. His body was conveyed to Guamanga for interment. They had also taken Gómez de Tordoya to Guamanga, sorely wounded, and after he had received the last offices of the Church he also died. Every one mourned for the deaths of these gentlemen and of Pero Alvarez Holguin, and the others who fell in the battle. They were very honourably interred, as men of such mettle deserved.[1] There were killed on the field in

[1] Holguin, Tordoya, and Gómez de Alvarado are said to have been buried in the little church of San Cristóbal at Guamanga, near the

that battle, counting both sides, 240 men. Some make the number higher, but I do not care to affirm anything that I do not know for certain.

On the morning after the battle, Vaca de Castro, taking with him his secretary and the chief magistrate of the camp, visited the tents to see whether there were any of the murderers of the Marquis Pizarro among the prisoners. As he did not see Martín Carrillo, but heard that the captain Alonso de Cáceres was keeping him concealed, giving out that he was dead, he ordered that he should be brought to his presence dead or alive, and this was done. Carrillo was a native of Ciudad Real. He and Pedro de San Millán of Segovia, and Francisco Coronado [1] of Jerez by Bádajoz, and two others, were executed, and their quarters stuck on poles. Knowing that many fugitives had made for Guamanga, Vaca de Castro ordered the captain Diego de Rojas to take some mounted men and return to that city and arrest all who might be found there belonging to the enemy. While this was being arranged there was an alarm in the camp, owing to a report that a large body of men was in sight, who might be enemies. The Governor ordered the troops to stand to their arms until it was known to whom the men who were in sight belonged. Some horsemen rode out and found that they were their own people returning with plunder they had taken from the enemy's camp.

Then Vaca de Castro ordered a start to be made for Guamanga, which was done, and on arrival he was received

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head of the avenue leading to the Chupas road. But *Cejo* Arias told me of the tradition that Gómez de Tordoya was not buried with the others, but in the church of La Merced, nearer the centre of the town. In 1887 a statue of a warrior was found in a niche in La Merced, recumbent on a mortuary bed, embracing his sword. It is of sandstone and 6½ feet long. It no doubt represents Gómez de Tordoya, probably due to the piety of his cousin Garcilaso de la Vega. The Indians of Guamanga (Ayacucho) are renowned as sculptors.

[1] All three were actual assassins of the Marquis Pizarro.

with much joy. He entrusted the business of retributive justice to the licentiate De la Gama, the licentiate León, and the bachelor Guevara. Diego de Rojas had already executed judgment on some,[1] but we will put down here together in one list all who were executed at Guamanga as well as those who met their fate between that city and Cuzco. They were—

Captain Cárdenas, of Toledo
Pedro de Oñate
Captain Diego de Hoces,[2] of Zaragoza
Capt. Juan Tello, of Sevilla
Bartolomé de Arbolancha[2]
Francisco Pérez[2]
Antonio Noguero, of Puerto de Stª María
Basilio (an Italian)
Martel, of Sevilla[2]
Francisco de Mendibar, of Torrejón de Velasco
Captain Martín Cote (a Guipuzcoan)
Captain Juan Muñoz
Barragán (the younger),[2] of los Santos
Martín Carrillo[2]
Juanes de Santiago, of Santander
Juanes (a Biscayan)
Captain Juan Pérez, captain of cross-bowmen
Juan Gómez de Salvatierra, of the Almendral
Baltasar Gómez,[2] of Valladolid
Juan de Guzmán[2] de Acuña, son of Vasco de Guzmán
Juan Sánchez,[2] of Estremadura
Bartolomé Cabezas,[2] of Jerez
Ramírez, of León
Losa,[2] of Zamora
Carreño, of Sevilla
Juan Diente,[2] of Gibraltar[3]

Vaca de Castro was guilty of great remissness in not sending the news forthwith to the King our Lord and those of his Royal Council. Nay rather, several vessels were detained many days in the port of Lima, and many merchants and traders were put to serious loss through his

[1] Viz., Juan Tello de Guzmán, and Almagro's Camp-master Pedro de Oñate.

[2] Assassins of the Marquis.

[3] Also Pedro de San Millán and Francisco Coronado.

action in not allowing them to leave the ports where they were anchored. The captain Francisco de Herencia and some others were banished, and a shipmaster was ordered to convey them to New Spain. When they were far from the coast of Peru they mutinied and went to Panamá. At that time I had come thither to negotiate certain business with the Audience which then sat at that city. The mutineers presented themselves before the members of the Audience, who set them free.

To return to Vaca de Castro. He remained for eight days in Guamanga, reforming various things for the good of the Realm, and despatching letters to the various cities in it to announce the victory that God, our Lord, had given him. Hearing that Don Diego had fled towards Cuzco, he ordered the captain Garcilaso de la Vega to set out at once for that city, with some cavalry, and occupy it in the name of his Majesty the King, our Lord. Should Don Diego be found in the city, he was to be arrested, as well as any of his followers who were there. So Garcilaso de la Vega departed, with some lancers, to carry out what the Governor Vaca de Castro had ordered him.

CHAPTER LXXX

Of things that were done by the Governor Vaca de Castro, and how he despatched some captains to undertake conquests in the Realm.

THE Governor Vaca de Castro was in the city of Guamanga, quite complacent at seeing the ditch under the gallows full of dead bodies, and the fine blood of Spaniards being shed in that square. This was no little pleasure for the natives to see also, though they were amazed on reflecting that many of the victims had been captains and men holding posts of honour. They carried the news of all this to the King Inca Manco Yupangue at

Viticos, where he was staying; and although he was glad that so many Spaniards had been killed, he regretted that Vaca de Castro was the conqueror and Don Diego was defeated, whilst pleased that it was left for himself to protect the young Almagro from the cruelty of Vaca de Castro. Having sent Garcilaso de la Vega to the city of Cuzco, as we have related, it occurred to Vaca de Castro that there were a great many people collected in Guamanga, that the provisions were being consumed, and that the citizens and other inhabitants were being unduly put to straits. So he decided to order some of those of his army to leave it. Presently he instructed Pedro de Vergara to go, with such followers as he required, to the province of Bracamoros, of his own conquering, where he had already done good service for his Majesty. He granted warrants and *encomiendas* there to Vergara and many others, desiring them to set out as soon as they could get ready. Vergara desired nothing better and, as soon as the wounds he had received in the battle were healed, he made his preparations to depart. Orders were also sent to Juan Pérez de Guevara, who was then at Lima, to proceed to the province of Moyobamba and settle it.

The Governor also wrote to all the cities of the Realm directing that if any of the men of the Chile party should seek refuge in them, they were to be arrested and put to death. He ordered the bodies of all who fell in battle on his side to be interred in the churches at Guamanga, and arranged that a hermitage should be set up on the battle field, for the invocation of our Lady of Victory, where the rest of the dead had been buried. The captain Pedro Anzures, and the others who were wounded, recovered. The municipality of Guamanga made a request to Vaca de Castro that he would confirm certain things in his Majesty's name, and that the city be thenceforward called "of the Victory," instead of, as heretofore "of the Frontier," a

request which the Governor was pleased to grant, and so it is called at the present day. Notwithstanding that several vessels were detained in the port of Lima by order of Vaca de Castro, and that leave was asked for permission to depart for Tierra Firme, he would not grant it, which was felt to be no small grievance. After he had made various arrangements, and given permission to those who wished it to return to their houses, Vaca de Castro set out for Cuzco, leaving the licentiate De la Gama in the city to complete his judicial work. He had not gone more than two leagues when he turned back again, so as to reach Guamanga at break of day, without letting those who were with him be aware of it. When he appeared again in the great square the people were astonished. This return was because many of those who escaped from the battle had hidden in some houses, and he wished to secure their arrest. This was soon effected, and they were delivered over to the licentiate De la Gama, who passed judgment on them. This being concluded Vaca de Castro continued his journey with those who were to accompany him to Cuzco. But as we must treat of the return of Gonzalo Pizarro to Peru, we will now tell how he got out of the Canela.

CHAPTER LXXXI

Of the things that happened to Gonzalo Pizarro until he came safely out of the Canela expedition and arrived at the city of Cuzco.

THE reader will remember that in previous chapters we mentioned the great labours and dire want of Gonzalo Pizarro and those who survived in the valley of the Canela, and the great desire they felt that God, our Lord, would show them some way by which they might return

to a Christian land. Having heard the account of the two Spaniards who had gone up the river in a canoe, and how they had seen that great mountain range or cordillera, Gonzalo Pizarro resolved to ascend the river with the remnant of his men as speedily as possible. So all the people got ready, some Spaniards going ahead to clear the way with axes and bush knives. Passing not a few swamps, they arrived after ten days' travel at the mark left by the men who had gone up the river before. Here Gonzalo Pizarro ordered Juan de Acosta to go with a small party, as quickly as possible, to where the Indians said there was a village. Juan de Acosta thereupon set out with eighteen Spaniards, armed with their swords and bucklers, and after walking for a good long time, they came to the village they were in quest of, on a high hill and very strong. But the Indians had no mind to admit them if they could help it, and with their usual dash they came out armed to oppose them. Juan de Acosta and his companions, though exhausted by hunger, entered like true Spaniards upon the encounter. After Juan de Acosta and two others had been wounded, the Indians fled, as usual. The Spaniards then ascended the hill and rushed the village, where they found plenty of food, to the no small delight of those sorry starvelings. They saw that the country they were in was a vast uninhabited wilderness, which must be traversed to reach Quito. Gonzalo Pizarro followed Juan de Acosta with the rest of the party, and in passing those swamps eight Spaniards died. When the worn-out survivors knew that they must cross that great wilderness, they were much afflicted, having all passed through so many hardships and sufferings. They cursed their luck which had been so adverse to them. But in the end, making the best of their misfortunes, those who remained alive prepared to face that infernal journey, taking the sick along on the few horses left to them as best they could.

So they toiled over the uninhabited waste, eating of all sorts, without leaving a dog, nor saddle leather, nor anything else that they could tear with their teeth. After having passed through infinite labour and fatigue they arrived at the village of *Coca* (where they had originally entered the Canela country) on foot, shoeless, and so transfigured that they could scarcely recognize each other. The natives received them as friends, and gave them what supplies they had; and, to get themselves into some sort of order, it was settled that they should stay there for ten days. In talking to the Indians it was found that there was a shorter way to Quito by another track, not the one they had followed, so they determined to take it. But on this track they met with several broad and very deep rivers, so that they were obliged to make bridges over some of them. Journeying in this way they came to a river which was so rapid that it took them four days to make a bridge; and whilst keeping watch at night, lest the Indians should come and attack them by surprise, they saw a great comet traversing the heavens. In the morning Gonzalo Pizarro said that, in his dreams, a dragon came and plucked out his heart, and tore it to pieces with his cruel teeth. He then sent for one Jerónimo de Villegas, who was held to be something of an astrologer, to ask him what he thought of it. He is said to have answered that Pizarro would find that the object he most prized was dead. After other things had occurred, which may be counted as trifles rather than as history, Gonzalo Pizarro and the remnant of his followers finally reached the confines of Quito. Those who survived from that expedition say that 240 Spaniards started on it, and that most of them died of hunger, though they took with them from Quito 6,000 pigs, 300 horses and pack animals, 900 dogs, and many sheep, all of which were eaten or lost.

We cannot lightly describe the deep sorrow Gonzalo

Pizarro showed when he heard of the disastrous death of his brother. Although Sarmiento, his Lieutenant, sent horses for him and some of his companions, they would not mount them, but preferred to enter Quito on foot, in such sort that it was grievous to see them. When Gonzalo Pizarro heard that Vaca de Castro had been accepted as Governor by the whole Realm, he felt it keenly. He said that *he* ought to govern, and that the King had been very ungrateful in not ordering that he was to succeed, on the death of the Marquis. He began to prepare to go in search of Vaca de Castro, wherever he might be; for it was not then known that the war was ended, nor that the victory had fallen to him in the battle.

CHAPTER LXXXII

How Garcilaso de la Vega arrived in Cuzco; of the imprisonment of Don Diego, and how Vaca de Castro travelled to that city.

AFTER the rout at the battle of Chupas, Don Diego de Almagro and Diego Méndez rode away together, with the intention of seeking refuge with the Inca Manco. They could have done this easily, if Diego Méndez had not caused delay by going to see a woman he kept as his mistress at Cuzco. To induce Don Diego to go to that city, he said that without fresh shoeing the horses could not take them anywhere, and that they must go to Cuzco to provide themselves with what they required, and that, after that, they could go to where the Inca was staying. Don Diego had to consent, although it was against his will, and they arrived in the city. Diego Méndez went off to the arms of his mistress, just as if he had come home victorious, but at that time the news of what had happened

had not reached Cuzco. Don Diego made haste to start; but, when at last they did, the result of the war was public knowledge. When Don Diego and Diego Méndez had got clear of Cuzco, they took the road to the valley of Yucay, intending to make their way thence into the mountains, in search of the Inca. Barragán, who had been left as Lieutenant at Cuzco, had by this time been made a prisoner; and when they heard that Don Diego was gone, Rodrigo Juan Gutiérrez Malaver, and some others went in chase. After some exigencies he was captured, with Diego Méndez, in the valley of Yucay, brought back to Cuzco, and lodged in custody.

Garcilaso de la Vega, and those who left Chupas with him, proceeded to Cuzco and at once took possession of the city in the name of the King, to keep order there until the Governor should arrive. Vaca de Castro left Guamanga as we have related, and travelled until he arrived at the ruined edifices of Vilcas. He remained there a few days to provide for the despatch of Pedro de Puelles as his Lieutenant to install settlers in the city of León. He selected those who were to go, gave them warrants for *encomiendas*, and ordered Pedro de Puelles to proceed on this duty. News arrived that Juan de Vargas, a veteran *conquistador* in those parts, had, after much trouble, cleverly captured Illa Tupac, one of the Inca's captains who had risen in rebellion and done much mischief. This was, indeed, a notable service that Juan de Vargas, who was a native of La Higuera, near Fregenal de la Sierra, performed; and the Governor approved of it. Having received his warrants, Pedro de Puelles set out from Vilcas with the Spaniards who had been told off to accompany him, and travelled until he reached the province of Huanuco, where, in the name of his Majesty, he founded the city of León.

While the Governor Vaca de Castro was still at Vilcas, news came to him that one of young Almagro's captains

was near by. In a former chapter we made mention of all who were put to death, and among them was included this one, named Juan Pérez. The Governor ordered that he should be sought for by the Indians, and that when he was captured he should be quartered. After giving this order, Vaca de Castro left Vilcas, and proceeded to the province of Andahuaylas. There he received word that there was scope for founding a city near the Bracamoros and Pedro de Vergara's territory, and, as it was desirable to arrange about the disposal of the people, he appointed Juan Porcel to be captain there. So Porcel started off with the Spaniards of his following for the place we have said. Vaca de Castro continued his journey until he arrived at the buildings of Limatambo, whence he sent off despatches to his Majesty informing him of the victory God had granted him, of how the Realm had been brought back to the royal allegiance, that Don Diego was a prisoner, that sentence had been duly executed on his captains, and other matters relating to the administration. Before he left Limatambo, there came certain captains from the province of Chile, where the captain Pedro de Valdivia was in charge, requesting the aid of more Spaniards for the subjugation of those parts. After Vaca de Castro had taken note of what those captains had to report, he set out for the great city of Cuzco, where a solemn reception was accorded him, and he was welcomed by all the people with great joy.

CHAPTER LXXXIII

Of the things that were done in the city of Cuzco by the Governor Vaca de Castro, and of his great avarice and vainglory.

AS soon as Vaca de Castro arrived at the city of Cuzco, he received many visits from the residents there. He was naturally inclined to be arrogant and haughty, and when he found that his party had routed Don Diego's and won the battle he became inflated with vanity to a degree quite unbefitting the profession to which he belonged. He ordered many gentlemen to attend him as his yeomen of the guard, and with them he spent money splendidly, having grand sideboards loaded with plate and huge candlesticks which might well have been dispensed with. He thought of nothing but amassing wealth, to satisfy his greed. This was a very ugly thing, for whilst his Majesty sent him to administer justice and conduct himself with rectitude, he set about gathering treasure for himself by unlawful means—and it is said that he had great natural skill in the art of acquisition. Indeed, some of his rivals allege that he received presents and bribes for the sale of *repartimientos*, which ought not, however, to be believed; nor have I been able to find any evidence of it. It is true that he wanted to make the valuable profits from *coca* his own perquisite, and not leave them open to all as they were before; and he ordered that no one, on pain of severe punishment, was to dare to contract for it from any of the best *repartimientos*, which he had reserved for himself. From this source and from other Indians he did strive to make money; and in this way, though he got little enjoyment out of it, he amassed great wealth, and he always endeavoured to settle his servants and friends in

the best positions. Yet, although Vaca de Castro had the vices of meaningless presumption, vainglory, and avarice, apart from them he was a good governor, and did useful things for the kingdom, all of which I will mention, for I am thereby a friend of truth, and let not anything otherwise ever be thought of me.

Well, returning to our Governor Vaca de Castro, he was busy with affairs appertaining to the government of the Realm, and, with the desire to partition the provinces, he accepted some presents from the native Chiefs. He visited Don Diego de Almagro, Diego Méndez, Juan de Olivas in prison, and the others who were detained. He said to them: "What utter folly can have induced you to make such a mistake as to rise in rebellion and publicly appear in arms against his Majesty's service, and to have done other ugly things which are well known?" The lad Don Diego answered that neither he nor those who had been his defenders had opposed his Majesty's interests or had any such thought. On the contrary, he always believed that he was working in the King's behalf, and to assume charge of the province, seeing that he had sufficient warrant to do so, from his nomination as successor to his father the Adelantado, made by virtue of a royal commission. Vaca de Castro retorted by casting contempt on what had been done. After some further talk, he took leave of the prisoners, saying that, notwithstanding they were all condemned to death by the general sentence, he desired that they should beg him for justice, and that they would be freed or condemned as the law might dictate. Having said this, he returned to his house. Don Diego was so afflicted that his feelings could not be more wrought upon, and all felt great sorrow for him. But Gaspar Rodríguez and others told Vaca de Castro that he had better behead the lad.

CHAPTER LXXXIV

How Don Diego, when he was in prison, tried to escape, and how he was beheaded by order of the Governor Vaca de Castro.

DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO was imprisoned in the house of Hernando Pizarro, in a rather strong room which existed there, and Vaca de Castro's captains took care that he should not escape. After he had been there for some days, he began to seek for some means of escape, intending to take refuge at Viticos with the Inca Manco, and believing that, by adopting this course, his life might be saved. Certainly not a few felt regret that the lad should be put to death. The captains Gaspar Rodríguez de Camporredondo and Pedro Anzures de Castro, who were the favourite advisers of Vaca de Castro, would not hear of the execution not taking place. When Don Diego learnt this, he treated, as secretly as possible, with a page of his, for the purchase of two horses, the swiftest he could find. He was to have them ready in the river which flows through Cuzco close to his place of confinement, at a certain hour of the night. Some persons who knew about the purchase of the horses told Vaca de Castro, who, when he knew it, ordered Don Diego to be removed to the house of captain Gabriel de Rojas, and there he was watched with more care than before. The Governor Vaca de Castro took the opinions of some of his captains and friends as to what should be done with Don Diego. To all it seemed that the best course would be to put him to death, both on account of the crime he had committed and in order to safeguard the Realm and prevent the occur-

rence of fresh trouble. An indictment against him was drawn up, he was condemned to death, and the sentence was ordered to be notified in his presence. Don Diego replied by appealing to his Majesty, or, in the first instance, to the President and Judges of the *Audiencia* then accredited in Tierra Firme. He was told that this appeal could not take place; and, having made his protests, he retorted that since they would not allow his appeal, but insisted on putting him to death, he cited Vaca de Castro to appear before the Judge of Heaven, our God, where all would be judged without prejudice or passion.

After these events and some further parley he confessed, always displaying the mind of a man, and not of a youth such as he was, combined with a lofty and serious presence quite out of keeping with the humility of his parents. His eyes were steadily raised to a crucifix and, on being taken from the prison, the crier walked in front, shouting: "This is the judgment his Majesty the Emperor our Lord, and the Governor Vaca de Castro in his name, inflicts on this man as a usurper of the royal rights, and for having tyrannically rebelled and given battle to the royal standard," and other things about what had been done by him and his followers. On approaching the pillory, adjoining which was the block and an executioner ready to strike, Don Diego asked a favour. It was that he might die at the place where his father was executed, and be buried in the grave where his father's body rested, and that he might be placed beneath, and the bones of his father above him. When he reached the place of execution, they wanted to put a veil over his eyes, but he said there was no need for that, and they only had to order the executioner to perform his office. He asked them to let him have the little time that remained to him to enjoy with his eyes the sight of the image of our God, which stood there. Finally they persisted and bound his eyes against his will. He

was extended on the block and with great courage he suffered death at the very spot where in a bygone year his father had suffered.[1] The son's body was buried in the church of La Merced, in the same grave as his father, and in the manner he had requested. Don Diego was of medium height, twenty-four years of age,[2] or a little more, very just-minded and intelligent, brave and a good horseman, liberal and a friend to good works. His mother was an Indian woman, a native of Tierra Firme. There was great hope for his career if he had lived. He was not altogether free from vices: on the contrary, he had those which men of the Indies usually display. Captain Pedro Anzures went about enquiring of those who were present whether they had heard Don Diego say that he deserved his death, because the Marquis had been assassinated by his order. He did not ask this in ignorance, for he and every one else knew perfectly well that Don Diego had never used any such words; but he, and Vaca de Castro, and others thought that this would be useful for their own justification. Thus closed the career of Don Diego de Almagro the younger, and with him came to an end all that remained of his father's party, both men meeting the same manner of death in the city of Cuzco.[3]

[1] Cieza de León had already told us that the elder Almagro was strangled in his prison. But his body was publicly beheaded.

[2] Not so old, if he was born at Panamá. That city was only founded in 1520, and Almagro came there some years later. He was not more than nineteen.

[3] The story of Diego de Almagro is very interesting, and exceedingly pathetic. It is interesting because this lad was the first *mestizo* or half caste distinguished for ability, nobility of conduct, and bearing. There have been many since.

Young Diego was born at Panamá. He was the son of an Indian servant girl who went by the name of Ana Martínez. Panamá was founded late in 1519. The elder Almagro did not settle there until after Espinosa's expedition, two or three years later than the founding of the city. Being the lad's father, his birth probably took place in 1522 or 1523.

The lad is said to have been well "endoctrinated," so he no doubt

learnt to read and write, and to repeat the usual invocations and prayers of the period. When Martín de Alcántara came to Panamá on his way to join his half brother Francisco Pizarro in Peru, he met the young lad Diego, and very kindly took charge of him, to join his father. This was in 1535 when the lad was twelve or thirteen. At Lima Alcántara took young Diego to his house and treated him as one of his own children, until a way of sending him to his father (then engaged on his Chilean expedition) could be found. At last a servant named Juan de Herrada was engaged, who had come to Peru with Pedro de Alvarado He also took the royal patent appointing the Adelantado Almagro to be Governor of a province to the south, to be called New Toledo. Pizarro's province, to be called New Castille, was the northern half of the Inca Empire, and the boundary was to be fixed by an arbitrator appointed by the King. Almagro did not wait for an arbitrator, but immediately marched north to settle the boundary himself, declaring Cuzco, and even Lima, to belong to him. This was the beginning of civil dissension in the Realm.

Young Diego must have had a very good time, with all the marching and adventure and none of the responsibility. Doted upon by his father, liked and made much of by the Adelantado's old captains, some of them men of good family and position, he acquired habits of breeding and self-respect. When his father was on the coast, young Diego was proposed as a hostage by the Judge-Arbitrator Bobadilla.. Again when Almagro released Hernando Pizarro, his son was sent with the escort to the Governor's camp and received presents. These are the first occasions when he appears in history.

Diego was too young to take part in the battle of Las Salinas, and he does not appear to have been with his father. But he was at Cuzco, and Hernando Pizarro decided that he should be sent to his brother the Governor and Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro. He went with Alonso de Alvarado, Gómez de Alvarado, and his father's servant Juan de Herrada. They found Francisco Pizarro at Jauja. In interviews with the Marquis the lad entreated him not to put his father to death, and Pizarro assured him that he had no such intention. Young Diego was treated with hospitality, and even distinction, and when he went to Lima with Juan de Herrada, the Marquis sent orders that the lad was to be lodged in his own house, and treated as his son. Then the news came of the execution of the Adelantado Almagro. The son was persuaded by Juan de Herrada that it was done by order of the Marquis, which was quite untrue. The next news was that the royal patent authorized the Adelantado to nominate a successor to the government of New Toledo; and that he had named his son in his will. Herrada, who was the lad's evil genius, filled his mind with ideas of vengeance and ambition. When Pizarro returned to Lima he found young Almagro full of these ideas, and constantly intriguing with Herrada and others. He could no longer have the boy as an inmate of his house.

Herrada had acquired complete influence over young Diego's mind. This man had come to Peru with Pedro de Alvarado; and transferred his services to the elder Almagro, to attend on his son. He was a man of great energy, quick decision, and some power in acquiring influence over others. But here his good qualities ended. He had little ability, no judgment, and no mercy. His one virtue was devotion to Almagro and his son, but he only knew how to show it by an act of brutal vengeance.

The murder of the Marquis was entirely planned by this ruffian. All the old captains of the elder Almagro but one* were against it. The question arises how far young Diego was an accomplice. He was told by Herrada that Pizarro was going to kill him and all his friends, and it was proposed to him that the Marquis should be seized until Vaca de Castro arrived, who would judge between them. But I think that the boy was not cognizant of the intended murder until after its perpetration.

In a letter which young Diego wrote to the Judges of the Royal Audience of Panamá, putting forth his claim to succeed as Governor, he states that his object was to seize the Marquis, not to murder him: and that he regretted his death. The letter is dated 14 July 1541.† I think that this may be believed.

Juan de Herrada showed great energy after the murder; disarming and arresting, and forcing the municipal officers to acknowledge young Diego as Governor. But when nearly all the Spaniards outside Lima rose against him, he showed nothing but incapacity and arrogance. He tortured and killed Pizarro's secretary, and murdered Francisco de Chaves owing to a private feud, the only old captain of the elder Almagro who was an accomplice, though not an actual murderer. Both were acts of unwisdom and stupid violence. The accomplice of whom he had the highest opinion was a young ruffian named García de Alvarado, violent, incapable, and brutally selfish—an unscrupulous robber. Yet the ill-fated boy remained completely under the malign influence of Juan de Herrada, and consented to make him General of the forces he was collecting. He was thus placed over all the veteran captains of the elder Almagro, men of position, of tried valour, with great military experience. They were not prepared to serve under the upstart Herrada, and they were all disgusted at the murder of the Marquis, an atrocious crime which could not be forgiven, as well as a piece of folly, which no one with any judgment would have committed. Sooner or later all his father's old captains except one left the service of the unhappy boy, and joined the royal Governor—Gómez de Alvarado, Saavedra, Montemayor, Guevara, all fell away from the murderers. One only stood firm for the boy, for the sake of his father. This was Cristóval de Sotelo, an old soldier of the school of Orgóñez, but able, experienced in war, and possessing no common skill in all matters relating to his profession. He was true as steel to the cause he had once espoused.

Herrada found it necessary to leave Lima and make for Cuzco, there to await events. He was taken ill on the way and died at Jauja showing his incapacity with his dying breath, by advising that Sotelo and García de Alvarado should command jointly. Sotelo of course declined such a position, and García de Alvarado went with a following to Arequipa, nominally to collect men and arms, but really for plunder.

Young Diego, now free from the evil tutelage of Juan de Herrada, began to act for himself, and showed that he possessed ability and force of character. He was not altogether without help, though surrounded by murderers and self-seekers. In Sotelo he found a true friend and

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* Chaves, and he was not among the assassins.

† *Muñoz Coll.* It is printed in Spanish by Prescott, in an appendix at the end of vol. ii of his work.

a wise counsellor, and during the march to Cuzco, under such guidance, he brought his levies of 550 men into a state of tolerable military efficiency.

At Cuzco young Diego worked hard with Sotelo, in preparing arms, superintending the casting of cannon by Pedro de Candía, and consulting about the best course to pursue. Then the young ruffian García de Alvarado arrived from his freebooting expedition to Arequipa, with a large amount of treasure. He used it to form a party of his own in the camp. He was jealous of Sotelo, who at the time was ill in bed with a fever, and he went to his house to pick a quarrel, ending by murdering him. Young Diego did not dare to arrest the assassin owing to the party his stolen treasure had got around him. He bided his time. He even consented to make him second in command with special powers. The ambition of the young ruffian (he was twenty-nine) was to have chief command. He intended to murder young Almagro. But the half-caste was more than a match for him at that game. There was to be a grand supper, and García de Alvarado was to go to Diego's house and invite him, having arranged for his murder after the supper. Diego made a different arrangement, which was to kill García de Alvarado when he came to say that the supper was ready. This was done.

But the lad was still surrounded with difficulties and dangers. There was a well paid Alvarado party which was discontented. The loss of Sotelo was fatal. The gallant boy had not a single friend whom he could trust—his associates were a gang of murderers and self-seekers. He thought he had a friend, in a man named Lope de Idiáquez, and consulted him. But he proved a traitor. There was also an old soldier who had served in the Italian wars and could marshal an army to the best advantage, but he too was false and a traitor.

Thus, without a single friend upon whom he could rely, this boy of nineteen prepared to encounter the Governor's army led by all the experienced cavaliers and soldiers in Peru. To have undertaken this showed great courage, and that he should have done it so well denotes rare ability. It is true that he must have known that all the leaders would fight to the last, for they fought with halters round their necks. But the equipment of the force, the provision of arms and accoutrements, the organization, the route, the marching order, were all due to the energy and ability of this half-caste boy.

Young Almagro would have been pardoned before the battle, if he had consented to abandon the cause of the murderers who were in his army. He was too honourable to entertain such a proposal. He fought with great valour and determination at Chupas, to the bitter end.

This fortune followed him in his flight from the lost battle. He had with him Diego Méndez, who was a fool as well as an unmitigated scoundrel. Young Almagro should have made his way direct from the Apurimac to the mountain fastness of the Inca. But Diego Méndez persuaded him to come to Cuzco for horse shoes, merely because the rascal wanted to visit his own mistress, the news of the battle of Chupas not having yet reached the city. The delay was fatal to young Diego. The bad news arrived when he had only got as far as the valley of Yucay. A party was sent in pursuit and he was captured.

Young Diego made a final effort to escape his fate. A faithful young page bought two horses, and he intended to take refuge with

CHAPTER LXXXV

Of other things that were done by the Governor Vaca de Castro, and how he appointed Diego de Rojas and Felipe Gutiérrez to be his captains in the subjugation of the region of the Rio de la Plata.

AFTER Don Diego de Almagro had been executed, as related in the last chapter, some of those who had sided with him in the battle were judged and, in deference to their excuses, received moderate sentences.[1] The Governor then sent off despatches to his Majesty and his exalted Council relating all that had happened. He ordered the royal officers to watch closely that nothing of the property confiscated for the royal treasury should be lost, and in all things great care was taken. The captain Monroy had come from Chile, where Pedro de Valdivia was governing, to ask for assistance, as the force there was insufficient

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the Inca. But the scheme was betrayed, and he was more strictly guarded. This misfortune is much to be regretted. Inca Manco would have received the able young soldier with hospitality and kindness. He would have thrown in his lot with the Incas and, as their very efficient General, would probably have repulsed the force sent against Tupac Amaru, and thus prevented the disgraceful scene, for which the Viceroy Toledo was responsible, in the *plaza* of Cuzco.

Young Don Diego de Almagro met his death with the calmness and dignity of a Christian knight, and the courage of an Indian Chief. He should have been spared. The political reason for the execution of his father—that he was a source of danger owing to the still unbroken strength of his party—did not exist in the case of the son. The Almagro party had been annihilated. The lad should have been sent to Panamá or to Spain.

It is a very sad story, and most interesting as a proof of the ability and courage of the first distinguished half-caste.

[1] Diego Méndez and seven others took refuge with the Inca, who showed them great kindness. In return they murdered their host and tried to escape, but were promptly seized and put to death by the Inca's servants. The murder took place in 1545. The design of these villains was to obtain a pardon for having borne arms with Don Diego, by disposing of the Inca.

either to overcome the natives or to complete the exploration of the interior in that region. As Vaca de Castro saw that it would be advantageous for the royal service he gave all the help he could. A little less than a hundred Spaniards were raised, with arms and horses, for Monroy to take back, and a ship laden with necessaries was sent coastwise. As the Governor Vaca de Castro could not satisfy all those who had joined him by giving them allotments of Indians, he took great care to furnish those who undertook discoveries and conquests, with horses and other equipment, so that they might set out from the Realm well provided. We may well praise this policy as a prudent one.

There were highly promising reports of the provinces extending to the west [*sic!*], where the very large and powerful river of La Plata flows, so broad that when it enters the Ocean it appears more like some arm of the sea than a river. In former times, when its mouth was discovered, certain Spaniards who ascended this river recounted great things; but the fame of such stories always exceeds the reality. It was said that there was so vast a quantity of gold and silver that the Indians held it for nought, and that there were emeralds there as well.

I knew Francisco de César, who was a captain in the province of Cartagena, which is situated on the coast of the Ocean, and one Francisco Hogaçon, who was also one of the first conquerors of that province, and I have often heard them talk, and affirm with an oath that they saw much treasure and great flocks of the cattle we call here Peruvian sheep, and that the Indians were well dressed and of good mien. They said many other things that I need not write of.[1] Afterwards Don Pedro de Mendoza went out as Governor to that country, and events took

[1] César was at the Rio de la Plata before he went to Cartagena.

place which I will relate in the account of the last war and the coming of the President Pedro de la Gasca.

As the fame of that rich country spread far and wide many desired to be in it. When the captain Pedro Anzures went to explore the Chunchos, he got reports of that river. It was supposed that it had its source in the lake of Bombon; and that the principal affluents of this river of La Plata were the Apurimac and the Jauja. Felipe Gutiérrez and the captain Diego de Rojas, desirous of making some conquest which would be memorable and give satisfaction to his Majesty, asked the Governor Vaca de Castro to entrust them with the leadership of an expedition; and as he was anxious to see the soldiers dispersed, the back country opened up and thoroughly explored, and the name of Christ made known in all parts, he was glad of their proposal and very willingly favoured all who wished to take part in the adventure, by furnishing them with arms and horses and money. So he nominated Felipe Gutiérrez as Captain-general, Diego de Rojas as Chief Judge, and Nicolás de Heredia as Camp-master, with the necessary powers and commissions, in the name of our lord the King. In default of Gutiérrez through illness, or being killed by the Indians, Diego de Rojas was to succeed to the chief command; and if, in his turn, Rojas should fail, Heredia was to take over charge. When the soldiers learnt that Diego de Rojas was going to be a leader in the expedition, many, holding him to be a good captain, prepared to follow him.

CHAPTER LXXXVI

How the Governor, Vaca de Castro, parcelled out the lands, and how the Captain Gonzalo Pizarro arrived at the city of Lima and talked openly about affairs.

HAVING made the arrangements just described, Vaca de Castro, by virtue of the commission he brought as Governor, ordered a general *repartimiento* to be made of all the *encomiendas* that were vacant, taking care not to forget himself nor those he took to be his friends, for to himself and them he allotted the best and greater portion. Either to justify the course he took, or to become acquainted with everything down to the roots, he ordered four of the old *conquistadores* to inform him, under a solemn oath, of the services rendered by every one who had been in the Realm from the beginning. This being done, he allotted all the natives of the provinces among them, and issued titles to the *encomenderos*; requiring them, however, in the name of our lord the King, to use them fairly, and to instruct the bondsmen in the affairs of our sacred religion; and he gave orders that all the villages and towns in the Realm should be visited. As many captains might be leaving Peru, to undertake conquests, Vaca de Castro ordered that they might take just a moderate number of Indians for their service; for it would not be a fair thing to still further deplete provinces which were nearly depopulated owing to the calamities of the late wars. If any soldier tried to deviate from this order he was to be punished. This order of Vaca de Castro was certainly very beneficial, for there had been great irregularities in the past.

We have already mentioned how Gonzalo Pizarro came

out of the Canela country very worn out, both himself and the others who escaped from that adventure. When he heard of the murder of his brother the Marquis, and that Vaca de Castro had been acknowledged as Governor, Gonzalo was much annoyed, for it seemed to him not just that he should be deprived of that charge, seeing that by virtue of a royal provision and the nomination of the Marquis, he, Gonzalo, was Governor of Quito. He spoke about it in this wise quite openly, saying that *he* ought to govern the Realm, no matter whom it might displease, and that the ingratitude of his Majesty was great, with other disrespectful words. When, on the road, he heard of the victory of Vaca de Castro, he rejoiced in so far that the murderers of his brother had received their deserts, and he would have been glad to be present in that battle with the rest, in order to fully revenge himself on them. But when his journeying brought him to Lima he talked still more freely, as we have said, and between him and his friends a conspiracy was hatched against Vaca de Castro. As nothing is hidden from those who govern, the news of all this soon reached the Governor, and when he heard it he sent the bachelor Juan Vélez de Guevara to Lima as his lieutenant, with orders not to permit any disturbance, nor any disrespect to his authority. With these instructions Guevara set out for Lima, Vaca de Castro first having written letters to Gonzalo Pizarro, directing him to come to Cuzco. Gonzalo, therefore, on seeing this command departed from Lima for the city of Cuzco, and as soon as Vaca de Castro knew of his approach he ordered that there should be men at hand ready for anything that might crop up, and that his captain of the guard, Gaspar Rodríguez de Camporedondo, should exercise special care in watching the Governor's person.

CHAPTER LXXXVII

How they discovered great deposits of gold in the river Caravaya, how Vaca de Castro ordered all the old tambos *and lodgings to be occupied, and of the departure of Pedro Anzures and Francisco Becerra for Spain.*

VERY great things happened in the Realm at this time; and notwithstanding the constant wars, the people who lived in it appeared very contented and seemed to take fresh heart, at all points. And it pleased God, in appreciation of the Christian zeal of the Emperor Don Carlos, our lord, that great kingdoms and provinces should be discovered during his reign, full of rivers and hills, the richest in metals of gold and silver that have ever been seen. Although the sins of the men who live out here are many, their Catholic aspirations and eagerness to make war on the infidels in support of the great expense and disbursements involved, led them on in these enterprises. So it was that in this year the richest of all the gold mines in this country were found at a river called *Caravaya*—of which I do not treat here, because I have told about it in my "Book of Foundations." The gold that was extracted was of perfectly pure quality, and there were many instances of 500 and 1,000 *pesos* being taken from one trough. Altogether they got from this river more than 1,300,000 *pesos*' worth. As the treasure was so great, so also the labour was not less. It employed many gangs of Indians and, the climate being very different from that of Peru, a great number of them died. From these natives Vaca de Castro got lavish supplies of gold; and, retaining the *coca* profits as he did for himself alone, he realized further large sums of money to meet the extravagant expenditure caused by his

ostentation and by requiring greater ceremonial homage than was a Governor's due. The rich yield of the river of Caravaya was increasing, and ordinances were enacted to regulate affairs concerning the mines. Hearing that great outrages were being committed on the natives because many of the post houses or *tambos* on the royal road from Cuzco to Quito were badly provided, and that some men had been carried off in chains, by which God our Lord was ill served, and his Majesty too, Vaca de Castro issued an ordinance which was very proper and beneficial at the moment. He ordered the feoffees and the caciques or Chiefs of the various provinces to see that the post houses were maintained in the same manner as in the days of the King Inca Huayna Ccapac, and that they should always be kept supplied with provisions for persons travelling in the Realm. The Chiefs were also obliged to provide certain Indians to go from *tambo* to *tambo* with what was necessary; and if any Spaniard should exact more than the statutory provision we have stated, he was to be rigorously punished. In this way the roads were well provided and Spaniards passed along them without trouble.

At this time the captain Alonso de Alvarado, now that the war was over and the King was in possession of the whole country, resolved to proceed to Spain, to give an account to his Majesty of all that had occurred. He set out accordingly and arrived at Tierra Firme just when the Ordinances which his Majesty caused to be sent out reached those parts; the transcript being brought by one Diego de Aller, who also said that Blasco Nuñez Vela was coming in the capacity of a Viceroy to enforce them. As the captain Pedro Anzures and the accountant Juan de Cáceres were then in Panamá, with other settlers from Peru, they urged Don Alonso to return—for the defence of his property and to petition against the Ordinances. Alonso de Alvarado answered prudently that if he returned

and any disturbance should arise, they would blame him for it. The proper thing for them all to do, said he, was to memorialize the King, with great humility, respecting the laws; and that, being so Christian a prince, he would not allow them to be deprived of their estates which they had acquired with so much labour, and that they should go to Spain to present themselves before his Majesty, who would order justice to be done. Besides this that Alonso de Alvarado said to those who were in Panamá, he wrote to the cities of Lima, Truxillo, and Chachapoyas, and others in Peru, advising that they should act in this and in no other way: which fact I adduce in order that the fidelity with which this captain was determined to serve his King may be understood, and even in the presence of the President Gasca I saw clear enough evidence of his loyalty over this business, and it seemed to be true.

But let us now return to our subject, which is that the Governor Vaca de Castro being desirous of dispersing the Spaniards who had collected together owing to the war now ended, and understanding that beyond Charcas, to the west, there were natives and capabilities for founding a city, he ordered the captain Gabriel de Rojas to go and attend to it, and gave him the requisite powers and faculty, in the name of the King. Though Gabriel de Rojas set out to found the city, he did not succeed; and therefore we we will say nothing more about that, but we will now speak of the arrival of Gonzalo Pizarro at Cuzco.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII

How the captain Gonzalo Pizarro arrived at the city of Cuzco, accompanied by some followers, but had not laid aside his rebellious design of occupying the Realm; and of what else happened.

THE captain Gonzalo Pizarro travelled to Cuzco accompanied by a few comrades who had come out of the Canela country with him, and others who now joined him, who, by always talking of things of the past without considering the serious trouble that must overtake them in the future, incited him to no good purpose, but to a course which might do much harm. This is the great sorrow I feel—that many princes and great lords, if vain words had not been poured into their ears by the voices of youths and flatterers, would not have involved themselves and their neighbours in so many calamities and disasters. It has been the same in these Indies, where the men living in them are alike astute and malicious, as well as so much addicted to uproars that the governors and captains who wish to live peaceably get no chance of doing so. Some to avenge themselves on others, some to obtain commands and dignities, some to secure favours and riches, incite the poorer sort to live at enmity with their equals. They rise for certain objects, and, forced by necessity, have to carry their opinions forward, while those who thus commit them slip out of the mess when they see a time for it. So it was with the ill-fated captain Gonzalo Pizarro who, besides being ambitious to command, was so stirred up by his followers that, after having served his Majesty loyally and well, he entered upon bad and ugly courses,[1] as we are

[1] He, at the request of all the principal Spaniards in Peru, took up their cause against the New Laws, and, when it suited their interests, they basely deserted him.

told on a stone memorial which is set up in the city of Cuzco, forever branding him as a traitor.

When Gonzalo Pizarro had arrived within a short distance of Cuzco, his companions urged that, having been acknowledged as Governor at Quito on the strength of his appointment and nomination by his brother, he ought now to be Governor of the whole kingdom just as his brother the Marquis was before his death. Should he not take this step, they said, he would be looked upon by all as a weak man wanting in resolution, and he would be held in poor esteem for not daring to take what was rightfully his. With this specious talk matters reached such a pass that he came to an understanding with them, and they with him, to kill Vaca de Castro and seize the Realm: at least so it is said. Villalba was present amidst these intrigues, but disapproved of their upshot and pressed on in advance to Cuzco, where he warned Vaca de Castro of what was in the wind. The Governor, when he was told about it, gave orders to the guard to be very watchful; and, on collecting as many more as he was able to, he found himself with 400 men. The principal captains were acting in concert, and agreed that if, when Gonzalo Pizarro should come, he did anything that was not lawful nor proper for the King's service, they would cut off his head. By that time Gonzalo Pizarro had arrived close to the city and, as there is never any lack of some one to give information, letters were sent along to meet him, advising him to be careful of his person, because Vaca de Castro intended to kill him. When he knew this Gonzalo Pizarro spoke to Juan de Acosta and others, warning them to be ready to kill Vaca de Castro when they would meet, and that he himself would give the signal. When Gonzalo reached the city, some persons came out to receive him. It was now publicly known that Villalba had disclosed the plot, so Gonzalo Pizarro declared with an oath that he had no such thought,

and that Villalba had spoken lies. Villalba maintained what he had said, and retorted by declaring the names of those concerned in it. As they now saw and understood that they were found out, some of them fled, but Vaca de Castro ordered them to be searched for and, if discovered, to be put to death.

When Gonzalo Pizarro came to the street where the Governor's house was situated, there were numerous arquebusiers posted along the walls, and a body-guard within. Martín de Guzmán was at the door, with orders not to let anyone enter except Gonzalo Pizarro himself, and this was obeyed. Vaca de Castro received him very well, and conversed with him on his expedition into the Canela country, and the great hardships he had endured. After he had advised Pizarro to now give himself rest, the latter took leave of him. But the men around Pizarro did not discontinue their intrigues. They told Gonzalo Pizarro that Vaca de Castro wanted to kill him while others told Vaca de Castro that Pizarro wanted to kill *him* and seize upon the government. Then Vaca de Castro sent for Gonzalo Pizarro and, by a writ under the hand of the secretary Pero López, required him to proceed to Charcas, where he had estates, and to stay there, without maintaining any body of men which might give rise to a renewal of the scandal, on pain of being declared a traitor and forfeiting all his property. He was to live there as a private person.

They say that, after this, Gonzalo Pizarro continued to entertain damaging intentions against the Governor, and that one day, when Vaca de Castro was out with his guards, Pizarro came up to speak to him. The arquebusiers, seeing him approach, stepped forward to intercept him; but on observing this Vaca de Castro said, "Stay where you are, for where Don Gonzalo Pizarro is, I deem myself safe and need no other guard." When Pizarro heard these confident words he abandoned the design he had been nursing,

and set out, accompanied only by his servants, for the town of Plata, where he had Indians who yielded more income than is possessed in Spain by the Archbishop of Toledo and the Count of Benavente.

CHAPTER LXXXIX

How the captains Felipe Gutiérrez and Diego de Rojas set out from Cuzco on their expedition of conquest.

IT will be well, now that the wars of Las Salinas and of Chupas are bygones, while the time has not yet come for those of Quito and Huarina, and the others which were fought in the Realm, that we should continue our history by relating the things that happened, for I have set myself the task of giving an account of them to my country. Yet my mind is so confused in trying to comprehend the affairs which we yet have to deal with, and my body so aweary through the long journeys and protracted vigils I have passed through, that I certainly need divine help to complete the great undertaking that I have in hand.

My condition is like it was during the expeditions I took part in, when climbing great and rugged mountains so lofty that their summits were lost in the clouds and the scud that accompanied them. At times, when I saw myself in the midst of the ascent, I used to feel so fagged that it was very difficult for me to reach the top; and on turning to gaze beneath me it seemed as if the deep ravines must reach down into the inferno. So in my exhausted state I prayed to God to give me strength to pass onward. Looking back at what I have written since 1523 down to the present time, and realizing how voluminous the writing has been, as well as the much that remains to be finished, I am

in still greater trouble than I was in the mountains. For were I to finish off here what is begun, the work would be incomplete; while, if I go on, my judgment is so weak, and my head so vacuous that I know not how I shall be able to do it. But reflecting, as the Philosopher says, that some men must attempt great deeds and worship lofty ideals, the commoner sort being open to all, I will go on, while praying to God to give me strength, and invoking the aid of His most holy Mother; and I will finish the work, or perish in the attempt.

We have already said that the Governor Vaca de Castro appointed the captain Felipe Gutiérrez to be the leader of an exploring party to the region lying to the northward of the famous river of La Plata and the Strait of Magellan, and the captain Diego de Rojas to remain as Governor of the first city they might found; and that he named Nicolás de Heredia, jointly with these, as Camp-master. As, in this empire of the Indies, there had been great trouble, owing to the death of those in command, Vaca de Castro desired that his Majesty's interest should not suffer in such a contingency this time. So he provided that, if it should please God to take Felipe Gutiérrez, the command should vest in the two, and, if one of them died, the other should remain in charge. There were great reports of a river called *Arauco*, on the borders of Chile, and the intention was to explore in that direction. As soon as the captains received their commissions, they busied themselves in enlisting men, and soon got 130 Spaniards together, horse and foot. To provide for them, besides the help given by Vaca de Castro, they all three laid out as much money as they could provide. For Ensign-general they had Hurtado, for captain Pedro López de Ayala, for royal officer Rodrigo de Cantos. Among them, too, was the spirited youth Diego Alvarez, who was afterwards Ensign-general at the rout of Huarina. When all things were ready, Diego de Rojas set

out for the valley of Chiquana[1] with sixty Spaniards, where he decided to wait for the General Felipe Gutiérrez, and the Camp-master Nicolás de Heredia. So Diego de Rojas departed, and marched until he reached that valley, where he learnt from the local Indians that there were large native settlements farther on and that the Indians thereabouts had many Spanish fowls. These were derived from the Spaniards who went out from Spain by command of his Majesty to explore the river of La Plata, taking Don Pedro de Mendoza with them as Governor, and who went through many wonderful experiences, concerning which I will not write.

Now let the reader please observe what a deal there is for us to understand in the affairs of Peru. A very particular friend of mine has told me that I ought to give information respecting the great rivers Uriaparia and Marañon, and this one of La Plata. I answered him that if it should please God to give me grace to get through with the itinerary of my journeys I would write a special book for him on those subjects; but that at present I am concerned with the true account of men who in those days were engaged in discoveries, and must therefore leave the reader to find in that one what is here wanting. For the purpose of pursuing this, our work, there is no need to state more than that the Spaniards who accompanied Mendoza had but recently come from Spain, and did not understand the ways of the New World, nor what men have to surmount there; so that many of them died. The survivors, after their Governor's death, were gentlemen and men of honour, for death takes more quickly those of low degree than the noble; and these pushed on inland from the east side, traversing many regions and great provinces, until at last they came out very near to the town of Plata, as we will

[1] Now *Chicuana*. But the modern place is far from the old site.

relate farther on. As the ships that had landed them on the coast left some of the fowls I have mentioned, our two explorers were able to procure some, and the natives, finding that they were profitable, and dainty eating, bred so many that they became distributed and increased far and wide, and thus it was that Diego de Rojas came to hear about them. As these Indians were such romancers, they exaggerated the reports of that country, saying that the Christians who went there were very fortunate, and that the land was very rich in gold and silver of its own production. The Spaniards, hearing these things, besought Diego de Rojas to leave the eastern[1] road, which led towards the river Arauco, and to make for the part mentioned by the Indians, so that in a short time they might perchance find themselves in a country where all would become rich. Diego de Rojas, eager for discovery, was overjoyed on hearing the words of those who wanted to go that way, and decided to do so.

CHAPTER XC

How the General, Felipe Gutiérrez, and the Camp-master set out from Cuzco, and how Diego de Rojas went to explore in the direction indicated by the Indians.

THE General Felipe Gutiérrez and the Camp-master Nicolás de Heredia had remained in the city of Cuzco, and, as soon as Diego de Rojas departed, they sent the Spaniards outside, because, being in small parties, they would gain supplies more easily, and the Indians would suffer less hardship. When everyone else had gone, the captains departed likewise. It is very commonly the case

[1] Western?

that the men who roam about this country are ill disposed, friends to turmoil and enemies of concord, without having any reason for breeding strife; and thus, some of those who had arrived at the place where Diego de Rojas was waiting told him that Felipe de Gutiérrez was coming with some of his friends, and harboured an intention of murdering him, when they arrived, so as to gain the sole command. Diego Rojas did not fail to be disturbed on hearing what we have said, but, being a prudent man, he did not believe it to be altogether true, nor did he put all suspicion aside, but took warning to look out for himself. As those who were with him were eager to go forward with the expedition, he ordered forty Spaniards to get ready to go with him, at the same time writing to Felipe Gutiérrez to make haste and join him. He left Diego Pérez Becerra in charge of the camp, and secretly instructed Pero López de Ayala to go back and meet Felipe Gutiérrez, ascertain his intention and proceedings, and report the result to Diego himself. Pero López de Ayala went, with three mounted companions. As soon as these messengers had departed, Diego de Rojas left Chiquana and, guided by what the Indians had told him, made his way over pretty difficult country until he reached a province called *Tucumá*,[1] which lies beyond the cordillera of the Andes, and at the foot of very rugged hills, which, however, are not more than four leagues across. To reach this province they followed down the course of a stream. The distance from there to Chiquana, where the camp was left, is fifty leagues.

In some parts of this province there are dense forests; the rest is open plain, and there the Indians have built round houses of heavy timber framing, thatched with straw.

[1] Tucumán. It was then a common practice to substitute the *â* for the terminal *an*. The name of the Chilean commander Villagran is often spelt without the n—Villagrâ.

The natives knew of the coming of the Spaniards, rumours of it having spread far and wide, but they had not the courage to oppose them. On the contrary, they fled from their homes like cowards, through fear of the invaders. When Diego de Rojas arrived at Tucumá and found that the natives did not come out to him, having intelligence of a more populous district farther on, he decided to continue his march to another village called *Capayán*. The Chief of that place, when he heard that the Christians were coming, ordered 1,500 of his vassals to assemble, all loaded with straw, besides carrying their ordinary weapons. When they came near to where Diego de Rojas and his comrades were advancing, the Chief ordered the straw to be laid down as a mark beyond which the Spaniards must not advance, and warned them that if they passed it they would all be killed, for that they had no right to invade the land which belonged to the Indians and had been in their occupation without let or hindrance for many ages. The captain Diego de Rojas, seeing what the Indians did and said, told his companions to be mounted and ready for whatever might happen, as he wanted to speak to the natives, and to explain to them the cause of his coming. After the Chief had made his speech, all the Indians took up their bows and arrows, while Diego de Rojas, moving to where the Chief stood, explained that he and those other Christians were subjects of the Emperor Don Carlos, and that they came from other places where he also was lord. If the Indians would believe in our God, and have the Emperor for their natural lord and king, there would be peace and true friendship between them; if not, war could not be avoided until, forced by necessity, they themselves should pray for peace. Diego de Rojas made them understand this through the interpreters present.

The Chief, and those who had come with him, answered by repeating what they had said before, being astonished

at seeing the horses and their swiftness of foot, and at the appearance of the Spaniards and their being so silent. After spending a short time in contemplating them, the Indians made up their minds to approach Diego de Rojas, and presently, by gathering round him, tried to cut him off. He was by no means off his guard, but, understanding the Indians' cunning, he chided them for what they had done, and told the interpreter to repeat what he said, to the Chief. The Chief replied that his Indians were so ill-behaved that even when he gave an order they would not obey, nor give up doing what they were about. When Diego de Rojas heard this, he put spurs to his horse, and began capering about in all directions. The natives were astounded at seeing the swiftness of the horse and the fury with which it galloped. The Spaniards, when they saw that their captain no longer held discourse with the Indians, pointed their lances, and charged among the Indians, and began to drive them into their naked bodies. When the latter saw that the game was up, they began to run away in great terror. Diego de Rojas ordered the Spaniards to cease the slaughter, because the Chief had been sorry for the impudence of his people. When the Spaniards heard the order, they desisted from wounding those who had fallen, and the Indians also refrained and gave heed by command of their Chief.

CHAPTER XCI

Of what else happened to the captain Diego de Rojas.

ALL the natives of the regions near where the Spaniards were marching were in great terror. They thought that there must be some deity in the invaders and, though they did not number forty, all who even heard their name trem-

bled with fear. They said to each other that the horses understood the Spaniards, and that they were such great and fierce animals that they would kill every one they met. As the Chief of those Indians who had come out on the war path was more alarmed than any one, he sought with a good will to make peace with Diego de Rojas, who granted it, saying that he did not come to make war unless he was forced into it. Taking counsel with the other Spaniards who were with him, he determined to return to Tucumá, as it was not prudent to advance further, they being so few and the natives so numerous. Speaking to those who were present, the captain Diego de Rojas said that he would return to where he had left many Spaniards and horses, so that all might go together to conquer those regions, and place them under the dominion of the king Don Carlos. Having said this, he set out on his return to Tucumá, where they found a large supply of provisions.

In order that the Indians might not think that the Spaniards fled from fear of them, Diego de Rojas resolved to send Francisco de Mendoza with six horsemen to return to Chiquana to make all those come, who had remained. Francisco de Mendoza having departed, Diego de Rojas ran a great risk with only thirty men, the six being taken off. But his watch was so careful, that it was not easy for the Indians to take him unawares. The supplies were so abundant, that they could get plenty without any trouble; there were more hens than in the land of Campos, and very plump ones; also a great quantity of ducks, and not a few guanacos in those provinces. The Indians would have been glad enough to kill the Spaniards, and to clear them out of their provinces, but seeing their enemies so watchful and well prepared they did not venture to make opposition. They agreed to wait and see what would come of the invaders' presence.

The natives of these provinces are well made. They

wear long cloaks of wool from below the arm, a strip from it passing over the shoulder, and the waist belt is arranged so that the private parts do not appear. In warm weather they have very graceful and handsome cloaks of ostrich[1] feathers. The women go naked, with no more than a small apron fastened round the waist, like the *maures* which, as we have written, are worn by the women of Anzerma and Antiochia [*sic*]. They wear their hair very long and well combed; they pride themselves on washing frequently, and use no *bija*[2] nor any other mixture on their faces. The food of these Indians is maize and the flesh of guanacos and their ewes. They are great sorcerers and the devil is always talking to them. They have no belief, and merely think that they have to live, and must die. When they die, the relatives make burial places in the hills where the bodies are placed, and they stick a tall stout post over the grave, on which is carved a figure of the devil as he was seen by the deceased when, in life, they talked to him. They do not eat human flesh, and detest the sin of sodomy. Their houses are large and round, and the villages not very close together. They have not so much fruit as in other parts. These customs and habits of Indians relate to those who dwell beyond the province of Tucumá, for those nearer[3] had been subjugated by the Incas, and many of them wore clothes. The reason why the Incas did not subjugate the natives farther on was that they received glowing reports of the provinces stretching towards Quito and of the vast quantity of gold in them, so they extended their conquests in that direction. To make their dominion secure, in the time of the Inca Yupanqui, who was father of Tupac Inca, and grandfather of Huayna

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[1] *Avestruces* in the MS.—but really the *Rhea*.

[2] *Bixa orellana*—anatto.

[3] The MS. is defective here.

Capac, certain *orejones*[1] were sent by his order, not with any great company of people nor with an army, but with articles for barter, in order to learn the disposition of the natives and the character of the country. The greatness of the Incas was so well known, and the fame of their victories had made such an impression, that these *orejones* easily induced the natives to become vassals of the King Inca Yupanqui. The latter agreed that their friendship should be perpetual, but that they should not be required to do more than defend the frontier so that no enemy should invade the Inca's territory on that side; and so this peace was made. In Tucumá they believed the Sun to be God. All hold that things had a beginning and that there was one Creator, to whom they offered sacrifices, but all their beliefs were inspired by the devil because they were deceived by him in their illusions.

CHAPTER XCII

How Felipe Gutiérrez came to join Diego de Rojas; of the arrival of Francisco de Mendoza at Chiquana, and what else happened.

IN preceding chapters we mentioned that the General Felipe Gutiérrez and the Camp-master Nicolás de Heredia had departed from Cuzco, and had gone, with all speed, to join Diego de Rojas. Francisco de Mendoza had hastened to do what he had been ordered by the captain Diego de Rojas, and in a few days he arrived where the Spaniards had left their camp. There he reported to Pero López de Ayala and the others what had happened, and the hope there was that farther on they would come to a very

[1] *Orejones* was the name given by Spaniards to some wild tribes of the Gran Chaco, because they perforated and stretched the ear lobes.

rich country; also that all these regions are well supplied with provisions, which was no small relief and advantage to those who desired to continue the war and discoveries. As the principal object of Francisco de Mendoza was to meet Felipe Gutiérrez and learn his wishes, he set out with some mounted men to meet him, and, having travelled for several days, he came upon him at a village called *Totaparo*, where he gave him an account of all that had happened. While travelling with him, Mendoza tried to find out the humour in which Gutiérrez came, and the feeling he had towards Diego de Rojas. For so it was that there were not wanting those who said to Felipe Gutiérrez just what had been said to Diego de Rojas, telling him to look out for himself because Diego de Rojas wanted either to kill him or to send him out of the province so that he, Rojas, might have sole command. Notwithstanding these reports and others spread by men prone to mischief, Felipe Gutiérrez, being a sensible and God-fearing man, gave little credit to them. In the presence of all who came with him, he said that he asked them to receive him as their captain until he joined his companion Diego de Rojas, who was a captain well acquainted with Indian warfare, having grown old in such service, both in Nicaragua and in other parts. Having joined him, both they and himself must place themselves under him and regard him as their superior officer. He added that, please God, he would not give any credit to the gossip against Diego de Rojas, which he looked upon as churlish camp rumours.

When Felipe Gutiérrez had said this, Pero López de Ayala took him apart, and told him secretly of the things they had said to Diego de Rojas, and of the evil intentions of some who, without shame or the fear of God, strove to create discord between them by means of those misunderstandings. When Felipe Gutiérrez understood this, he resolved to send other messengers, jointly with Pero López

de Ayala, namely Alonso de Zayas and Pablo de Montemayor, with letters making known his arrival and stating what had happened, declaring that he looked upon Rojas as his leader and true friend, and that he desired to join him as his subordinate; also begging him not to believe the treacherous men who were striving to create enmity between them. He added that those who carried the letters would inform him of anything else he might wish to know. At this time the camp had been moved from Chiquana to Tucumá. The captain Diego de Rojas found himself with such a force that he could overrun the country without difficulty, and compel the barbarians to render obedience to the great Charles our Lord. Having fixed his camp at Tucumá, he set out in various directions, with some mounted men, to explore the province. Zayas and Pero López de Ayala and the others who came by order of Felipe Gutiérrez were in some danger, there being no troops at Chiquana. The Indians yelled in defiance, but at last, by courage and perseverance, they reached Tucumá, and thence proceeded to where Diego de Rojas was waiting, at a village called *Capaya*. His joy was very great when he saw the letters and learnt that Felipe Gutiérrez was coming with good intentions towards him. Moreover, he felt that he would do well to deal circumspectly with his own followers.

CHAPTER XCIII

How the natives of those provinces concealed the provisions, and of the want that, it was believed, would be the consequence; also how Diego de Rojas sent messengers to Felipe Gutiérrez.

WHEN the natives saw that the Christians were settling in the land without any intention of leaving it, but on the contrary had sent for those who remained in Chiquana, they unanimously determined to conceal the

provisions in order that, forced by necessity owing to the hunger they would suffer, they might quit the province. So, all at once and with great promptitude, they worked with such good will that, in a few days, nothing was found but the maize in leaf; for this they could not carry off. The Christians, feeling the want of food, searched for it in all directions, and when Diego de Rojas saw that there was none he took whom he thought necessary with him and, leaving the camp with a sufficient guard, resolved to go out and look for anything they could eat wherever they might find it. First, however, he ordered Pablo de Montemayor to return to Felipe Gutiérrez with all speed, and tell him what straits they were in for food; and that, while he himself was seeking out where the Indians had concealed the supplies, he thought it would be prudent for Gutiérrez to halt until further messengers could be sent him. In order that Montemayor might go in safety, so that the Indians could not do him any harm, they sent to obtain some horsemen from border settlements near the Andes. Diego de Rojas endeavoured with great diligence to find the maize and other eatables hidden by the Indians, but failed to meet with anything whatever. The Spaniards who accompanied Felipe Gutiérrez talked freely against the captains, regretting that Diego de Rojas should have come on by that route, knowing it was the intention of all of them to go towards Chile and the river Arauco. They murmured in such a way that Felipe Gutiérrez feared there would be a mutiny. Montemayor having made good speed on the way they met each other in a village called *Irequire*, at the end of the valley of Chiquana, and there he delivered the message from Diego de Rojas. Having seen the letter, Gutiérrez regretted the want of provisions, and reflecting that hunger was a lesser evil than that the soldiers should mutiny or kill him, and, moreover, that they were near the high road leading to Chile, he determined not to

make all the news public, but to push on with all speed to where Diego de Rojas was, and so they set out at once.

When the captain Diego de Rojas could not find any provisions in all those parts, thickly peopled as they were from one end to the other, he received news of another very great province called *Concho*, and his necessity being so great, he resolved to adventure his person and those of his followers in an effort to find something to eat. Having decided to go there, they succeeded in reaching it in a few days. The fame of the horses had so cowed the Indians that they were stricken with terror and were able to offer but little resistance to the Spaniards, who found plenty of maize and other supplies. Farther on they discovered another settlement where there were many ewes and fowls and ducks. Diego de Rojas had come upon such abundance of provisions that he now regretted having sent to detain Felipe Gutiérrez who, notwithstanding that he encountered some difficulty in the march through the forests, was already very near at hand, on learning which Diego de Rojas was exceedingly glad. It was not long before Diego Gutiérrez and the Camp-master Nicolás de Heredia arrived, and they were received by all with great joy, thanks being given to God that they should thus be united without the loss of a man.

CHAPTER XCIV

How, after the captains were united, they determined to go forward; how they suffered much from thirst, insomuch that many of their servants perished, yet how they went on exploring.

THE captains and all the Spaniards, after having rested for some days from their former hardships, and discussed what might be best for them to do, it seemed good to all that they should pass on and traverse as many provinces as they could; for, if they could reach the mighty

Rio de la Plata, they would certainly find that its banks were peopled by very rich nations, and they would all soon be very prosperous, and would settle in that land which all who came from Spain were so anxious to see. When they had come to this resolution, they were told by the Indians that fourteen leagues farther on to the west [*sic*] there was a wide tract called *Mocaquaxa*,[1] but that there was no water on the way, and no trees but *algarrobos*.[2] When the captains knew that there would be scarcity of water, in order that the servants who carried the baggage might not fail, they ordered ewes' skins to be prepared and calabashes to be collected for carrying water. They did not take much count of this desert because, if it was only fourteen leagues wide, they could march quickly over it and they would not be much troubled about water. So they struck camp and began the march late in the afternoon, when the sun was sinking to hide its brightness behind the high hills to the westward. They marched with much haste that evening and part of the night, until it was so dark that the guide could not make out the way, nor guess where he was going. So, as they could march no farther, the tents were pitched with the intention of continuing onwards at daylight. Day had scarcely shown signs of dawning when the Spaniards were again on the march. The heat was so intense that it is almost absurd to believe it. They truly affirm that neither the heats of the Libyan deserts, nor of Egypt, nor of the sandy desert of the coast near Piura were greater, for at that time the sun reigned in the south.

As the heat was so great the water they had brought was soon consumed; and the more they drank the more they were harassed by thirst. Many of the servants, who came with the Spaniards, died of the heat and want of water. The

[1] *Macagax* in the Argentine province of Santiago del Estero.

[2] Algarrobo (*Prosopis alba*, or perhaps *ruscifolia*, Gr.).

horses were very tired. The Spaniards, seeing the pass to which they had come, and knowing that if all the servants died the expedition must be a failure, some of those who had horses pushed on with what speed they could to bring water in the calabashes and skins and succour the foot soldiers and native servants, and enable them to advance. With no little trouble, the horses being much fatigued, they returned with the vessels full of water, and thus saved many lives. They passed the night as best they could. As the dawn approached our Lord God, who at such times reveals his marvels, ordained that the clouds, by the thunder that rolled amongst them, should show signs of approaching rain; and the people, cheered by the sound, threw themselves down with their backs on the ground, open mouthed, that the drops might fall into them should the rain come. It was not long before a heavy shower came down and Spaniards and Indians made big pits to receive it. Soon the pits were full, and the people were able to drink at their pleasure. The barbarians of the province whither they were going, when they heard of the coming of the Spaniards, deserted the country, from the fear in which they held them; and when the Spaniards arrived there no Indians were to be found. Whilst they were looking about to see which direction they could have gone off in they came upon some spies and scouts who had been left behind [by the Indians] to carry word of the Spaniards' arrival. These fellows wounded two horses with their arrows and then made off to give notice to the Indians and inform them how few in number the Christians were. When the Indians heard this, many of them readily assembled to make war, and while the native servants and some friendly Indians were gathering herbage for the horses, the enemy came in a troupe of as many as six hundred Indians, and killed some of them. The alarm being given, the Spaniards came out on their horses and joined in the fight. Notwithstanding that a few of these

were wounded, more than two hundred natives were slain on the field and many more were wounded, so with no little outcry they turned their backs in terror, astonished at the valour of the Spaniards, and unable to believe but that their enemies had some deity among them. The captains regained the village where they had encamped.

CHAPTER XCV

How the bachelor, Juan Vélez de Guevara, arrived at Lima, where the municipality would not receive him; and of the departure of the accountant Juan de Cáceres for Panamá.

THE reader will remember how, in previous chapters, we related that when Vaca de Castro heard of the arrival of Gonzalo Pizarro in Lima, and of how things were freely talked about between him and his followers, in a way that could not be overlooked, the Governor despatched the captain Juan Vélez de Guevara to that city (who had been in the battle at Chupas) to act there as his Lieutenant, and to remedy what had been said. Having quitted Cuzco the bachelor Juan Vélez arrived at Lima after Gonzalo Pizarro had already left that city. He presented to the municipality the commission he brought from the Governor Vaca de Castro by which the latter appointed him his deputy, and Captain over the city. The treasurer Alonso Riquelme, the accountant Juan de Cáceres, the factor Illán Suárez, and the councillors who were present, valuing highly the credit of their city, complained openly of Vaca de Castro in that, having amongst themselves persons of high quality who were known to be anxious for the King's service, he should send a stranger to be over them; and they agreed among themselves not to receive him. On this subject there were discussions in the Municipal

Chamber, and things came to such a pass that the bachelor was expelled from office and turned out of the Council. As he refused to submit to their ruling they laid hands upon him, with the approval of the Municipality, and broke the verge of office which he had brought. Thus insulted Guevara quitted the scene; but, as the councillors knew that Vaca de Castro was irascible and vindictive, they began to fear that some harm might come to them on account of what they had done. The accountant, Juan de Cáceres, not daring to remain until Vaca de Castro should arrive, departed in a ship for Tierra Firme. The other councillors and officers remained in great fear lest some evil should befall them, for having declined to receive Guevara. We will now resume the narrative about Felipe Gutiérrez and his companions.

CHAPTER XCVI

How the Indians who escaped from the hands of the Spaniards returned to take counsel, and resolved, with much boldness, to go forth again and fight them, and of the death of Diego de Rojas.

IN a former chapter we related how the Indians of a village where the captains Diego de Rojas and Felipe Gutiérrez were encamped, had come and fought with them; and that although more than two hundred were killed, and as many more wounded, yet they sent messages to all the districts announcing how few the Spaniards were, and ordering the natives to assemble and to attack them vigorously, as it would be easy to kill them all and their horses. The Indians were told to anoint the points of their arrows with a very poisonous herb they have, for it was known by experience that no one who was wounded by it ever escaped death, and that for the liberty of their country and that they

might not be under greater subjection than their forefathers, they ought not to fly from death if it should face them. Moreover, should any of them be captured by the Spaniards, they were on no account to reveal the antidote [to the arrow poison], for if that secret were made known neither they nor any number of people who might join them could prevail against the valour of the Spaniards or the fierceness of the horses. As all desired to see the foreigners who had invaded their provinces driven out again they assembled as large a force as they could and after they had offered their accustomed sacrifices and invoked the devil to their aid, marched in the direction where the Spaniards were encamped.

Diego de Rojas and the other captains had decided to stay there a few days, until they could receive information about the country ahead of them. When the Indians approached them, the Spaniards saddled their horses and rode towards them to give battle. As it is our Lord God's will and pleasure that those unknown countries, so distant from Spain, shall be opened up and His glorious standard of the Cross be known there, He almost miraculously protects the Christians; that they may find a way before them until they reach the extremity of the land, where there is little left before seeing the sun complete its course around the world. So it was that, though these Indians came armed with arrows tipped with the poison we have mentioned, God watched over His Christians. But no special favour was needful on that day, as a single volley sufficed for the Indians' dispersal, and after a number of them had fallen the conflict ceased. Diego de Rojas then sent Pedro López de Ayala with forty horsemen to explore the country ahead. The Indians, undismayed by their losses, fought on continuously during the next two days, and Diego de Rojas, doing his duty as a famous captain in the midst of the fray, was wounded in the leg by an arrow. After having

chased and overtaken the Indians who had wounded him, they retired to the camp. Diego de Rojas thought little of his wound, as it was so small. But, since the herb was so poisonous, it began to work. Diego de Rojas felt ill, and there being a woman in the camp, who served Felipe Gutiérrez, she came to nurse him. After she had given him certain things to eat, Diego de Rojas became worse, and some of his servants said that he had been poisoned by order of Felipe Gutiérrez. Believing this to be true Diego de Rojas drank a great quantity of oil.

The captain Felipe Gutiérrez, when informed of this suspicion, declared his innocence. He assured Diego de Rojas, and all who might disbelieve him, that he never had any such evil thought, and that no one would regret the loss of his companion so much as himself. When the poison arrived near the heart, Diego de Rojas, seeing himself so near death, requested Felipe Gutiérrez to appoint in his place Francisco de Mendoza, whom he loved as if he were his son. Felipe Gutiérrez answered that although, under the authority they held from Vaca de Castro, this could not be done, the command should, after Rojas' death, remain vested in the two, and that he was delighted to please him.

After this, Diego de Rojas died during a violent fit of retching. He was a native of the city of Burgos: a valiant man, liberal, anxious always to do what was right. In war he was always cautious, at all times watching and patrolling like any other soldier. It is believed that if he had lived these regions would have been completely explored. His death was due to the poison in the herb, for which a plant of such virtue as an antidote was afterwards discovered, that the poison lost its strength, and the wounded were cured by means of it.

CHAPTER XCVII

How Pero López de Ayala discovered the river Soconcho, found a well-peopled region, and returned to where the general Felipe Gutiérrez was, and how they all set out for that region.

BEFORE the death of the captain Diego de Rojas, Pero López de Ayala had started out with a few mounted Spaniards to explore to the eastward; passing without meeting with any resistance over wide arid wastes and dense *algarrobo* forests, peopled by other Indians, who showed no inclination to attack them. At length they reached the banks of the river called *Soconcho*,[1] and found large villages on both sides. Reflecting that it would not be prudent to advance farther with so small a force, they returned to report to their leaders. When Felipe Gutiérrez heard what they had seen and discovered, he resolved to move his camp as far as the province of *Tesuna*, a distance of six leagues. He first sent Francisco de Mendoza to fetch certain Spaniards who had remained in Tucumá. In this service Mendoza heard much yelling and had some skirmishes with the Indians.

When they arrived in that province they found abundance of necessary things. The natives had retired, not daring to offer battle to the Christians. They now knew clearly that they were in the country of the poisonous herb, and that Diego de Rojas had been killed by it, and not by connivance of Felipe Gutiérrez as had been thought. After all were united the general Felipe Gutiérrez complained, saying that consent could not be given for Francisco de

[1] The river Salado, which watered the province of Socotonio, first evangelized by St. Francis Solano late in the sixteenth century. They were by this time on the south-western fringe of the Gran Chaco.

Mendoza to take over the post which had been filled by Diego de Rojas, nor could he suffer him to do so; and thus there began to be enmity between them, Felipe Gutiérrez wishing Francisco de Mendoza to remain subordinate to him like the rest, while Mendoza, knowing that he could not prevent this, had, by making use of the effects of Diego de Rojas, gained friends who gave him to understand that they would not see him deprived of the post he then held, and over this they would all stake their lives. When Felipe Gutiérrez wanted to carry his intention into effect, some of those in the league formed by Mendoza admonished him to desist from a measure that must cause scandal and bloodshed, and be followed by no advantage, but engender great evil. And mediators thereupon intervening between them they made friends, and Mendoza retained his appointment as before. But although this was then arranged, the suspicion that each felt of the other was not removed.

CHAPTER XCVIII

How the General, Felipe Gutiérrez, pursued his exploration down the river of Soconcho, and what else happened.

AFTER the private negotiations between the captains which we have recounted had been settled, Felipe Gutiérrez, with the concurrence of the rest, went on exploring down the *Soconcho* river towards the west.[1] This river is not very large, but there are extensive native villages near it; so that those who saw them were of opinion that some new settlements of Spaniards might be formed there, whose members could derive large *repartimientos* and other advantages. The civil wars there have been in the Realm

[1] East? Its general direction thereabouts is S.S.E.

hindered what now, with the help of our Lord, will be achieved; but let the leaders who may contemplate expeditions in this direction go well provided with horses and defensive armour of cotton; for other kinds do not avail. Proceeding down the river with their exploration, Gutiérrez and his party came to a populous district. The natives have the same dresses and customs as those first met with; but they have different kinds of religion among themselves, and they speak many tongues. They are a people under no description of rule, and so entirely without organization that they appear like brutes.

They came out to the Christians with a great yelling, astonished at seeing them on horses, and took them for immortals, some of them thinking that horse and man were one animal. Diego Maldonado had been left with the baggage, and Felipe Gutiérrez waited at a place that seemed to secure the best supply of food. Felipe Gutiérrez felt sore that Francisco de Mendoza should occupy the position he held, and sought to deprive him of it. He sent to him to claim the stores and provisions which had been collected when Diego de Rojas died. Francisco de Mendoza would not give them up. On the contrary, he assembled his friends, and asked them whether they would be faithful to him, and not allow him to be deprived of his present post by Felipe Gutiérrez. They replied that he need have no fear of Felipe Gutiérrez, for that they would be such true friends that it would not be possible to deprive him of the position. It was reported to Felipe Gutiérrez that Francisco de Mendoza always went about closely attended by some of those in camp; but he did not dare to arrest Mendoza, and for the time being dropped the subject. He decided to advance to a large village also called *Soconcho*,[1]

[1] The village Soconcho is shown on the Abbé Jolís' map, in his *Historia del Chaco* (1789), on the east bank of the Rio Dulce, or Saladillo, in lat. 28° 40′ S. Its true latitude is 28° 55′.

like the river. Leaving Sotomayor on guard at the camp, he set out from thence, taking Francisco de Mendoza with him; and here we will leave them awhile.

CHAPTER XCIX

How, when the news of the Marquis Pizarro's death reached Spain, it was ordered that a Viceroy and an Audiencia should be appointed; and of the conference over the Ordinances which were issued for the government of the new empire of the Indies.

WHEN the Marquis was murdered in Lima by the Almagro party the news came with extraordinary celerity to the ships which were about to sail for Spain, and the Emperor Charles V received it at . . .[1] He held that it was an evil service to him, on hearing that the Marquis had been murdered with such cruelty and violence, considering the great services he had rendered to his Majesty and the rich provinces he had added to the Realm. His Majesty wished that the Marquis could have enjoyed some repose in his old age, and that he had not died so ignobly. At the same time, his Majesty had felt that he had also been ill-served by the death inflicted by the Marquis's brother on the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro in a former year. Taking counsel with his grandson, and with others who attended him for that purpose, and seeing how remote those kingdoms were from Spain, that in the time of the governors there had been great outrages and robberies, and that cruel deaths had been inflicted on not a few lords and principal people, it was resolved that they should be so justly ruled that God our Lord and the Royal Crown should not suffer displeasure. His Majesty therefore de-

[1] Blank in the original MS.

cided to send out learned men as judges to form a Court of Justice or *Audiencia*, and also a Royal Chancellery, in order that causes might be determined and that in all things there might be right decisions so needful in such a free country where all men are prone to commit evil. In order that justice might have greater force, it was also resolved that there should be a Viceroy, whose duty it would be to see that the natives were well treated by the Spaniards. The councillors then considered at several sittings whom should be entrusted with so important a service. His Majesty had been informed by many people, and from various directions, of the great oppression the Indians suffered from the Spaniards, and how the latter, in order to extort gold from them, had burned them and thrown them to the dogs; also how they seized the natives' wives and daughters for their own uses, and committed other atrocities. Above all, there was very great remissness about their conversion; no one caring for the souls of the poor natives. As a Christian prince, fearing God, the Emperor was very anxious to find a remedy for these great evils. He felt that, as universal pastor, he was responsible to God. Nevertheless, his Majesty's repeated absences from Spain, so important for the worship of God and for his own service, had interfered with the mature consideration of what should be done to avoid these great evils, and of what laws ought to be made for the protection of the Indians.

At this time the reverend Friar Bartolomé de las Casas, who was afterwards Bishop of Chiapa, arrived in Spain, by whom it was asserted that the Spaniards were treating the natives in the manner we have mentioned, and it was even hinted that their behaviour was worse still. His Majesty ordered the assembly of grandees and prelates, jointly with men learned in the law who were members of his distinguished and puissant Council, to determine what

should be provided for the good government of the new realm or empire of the Indies. They met many times in the presence of the King, some arguing, others thinking; and their deliberations resulted in the New Laws, which for this, and not for what the people in Peru supposed, were enacted; so that we can, in each one of them, see points which demonstrate the feeling and the reason for their adoption. As these Ordinances were very famous, and as Gonzalo Pizarro stood in Peru in opposition to them, thereby giving rise to great battles and many wars, we will insert them in this place word for word, taken from the originals.

I know from my experience gathered during a long residence in the Indies that there were great cruelties and much injury done to the natives, such as cannot be lightly stated. All know how populous the island of Española was, and that if the Christians had treated the natives decently and as friends there would certainly be many there now. Yet there remains no other testimony of the country having once been peopled than the great cemeteries of the dead, and the ruins of the places where they lived. In Tierra Firme and Nicaragua also not an Indian is left. They asked Belalcázar how many he found between Quito and Cartago, and they desired to know from me how many now remain. Well, there are none. In a town which had a population of ten thousand Indians there was not one. When we came from Cartagena with Vadillo I saw a Portuguese, named Roque Martín, who had quarters of Indians hanging on a perch to feed his dogs with, as if they were those of wild beasts. In the new Realm of Granada and in Popayán they did things so ruthless that I would rather not mention them. In fine, as nothing is concealed from princes, his Majesty became fully informed, and as soon as he was able to spare time from the affairs of the empire, he gave his attention to these matters.

We must also say that not all those who had estates in the Indies were so bad as to commit such great sins. On the contrary, there were many who deplored and strongly denounced such acts. There were men who had passed through great hardships, misery, and hunger such as cannot be briefly described; many had lost their lives in the exploration and subjugation of the Indies, leaving wives and children behind them. These resented their fathers' Indians being placed under the direct authority of the King, and the *encomienda* they held being taken from them, as it had been granted for certain lives. But this was not sufficient excuse for taking up arms, for his Majesty would have listened to the petitions of those who humbly approached him.

The laws having been made and ordained, they were proclaimed with the sound of a trumpet in the city of Seville, and are as follows:—

NEW LAWS

DON CARLOS by the divine clemency Emperor always august, King of *Germany*; Doña Juana his mother, and Don Carlos himself, by the grace of God, King of *Castille*, of *Leon*, of *Arragon*, of *the two Sicilies*, of *Jerusalem*, of *Navarre*, of *Granada*, of *Toledo*, of *Valencia*, of *Galicia*, of *Majorca*, of *Sevilla*, of *Sardinia*, of *Cordova*, of *Corsica*, of *Murcia*, of *Jaen*, of the *Algarves*, of *Algeciras*, of *Gibraltar*, of the *Canary Isles*, of *the Indies*, islands and mainland of the Ocean Sea, Counts of *Barcelona*, Lords of *Biscay* and of *Molina*, Dukes of *Athens* and *Neopatria*, Counts of *Roussillon* and of *Cerdania*, Marquises of *Oristan* and of *Gociano*, Archdukes of *Austria*, Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Brabant*, Counts of *Flanders* and the *Tyrol*—to the most illustrious Prince Philip our very dear and beloved grand-

son and son,[1] to the Infantes our grandsons and sons, to the President of our Council of the Indies, to our Viceroys, Presidents and Judges of our *Audiencias*, and Royal Chancelleries of our said Indies, islands and mainland of the Ocean Sea, and our Governors, Chief Alcaldes and other Magistrates thereof, and to all our Councils, Justices, Aldermen, Knights, Squires, officials and citizens of all our cities, towns, and settlements in our said Indies, islands and mainland of the Ocean Sea, discovered and to be discovered, and to all other persons, captains, explorers or settlers, inhabitants or natives of whatever estate, quality, condition or position they may be, as well those who are already there as those who may come hereafter, to each one and to all of you in your offices and jurisdictions, to whom this our letter may be shown, or a copy of it signed by a public notary, or who may become acquainted with a part of it or its contents or anything which pertains or may pertain to any part of it in any way whatsoever: to you all health and greeting.

Know ye that for many years we have had the wish and determination to occupy ourselves with the affairs of the Indies, by reason of their great importance both in matters appertaining to the service of God our Lord and the increase of our holy catholic faith as well as in those relating to the welfare of the natives of those parts, their good government and the preservation of their persons. Although we have endeavoured to attend to these affairs, this has not been possible, owing to the numerous and constant distractions which have arisen and which we could not neglect, and to the absence from these Realms which I the King have been obliged to incur for reasons which are notorious to all. Inasmuch as these constant occupations have not ceased even in the present year, we have ordered

[1] That is, his mother Juana's grandson, his Majesty's own son.

persons of all estates, prelates as well as knights, and clerics, and some members of our Council to study and consider matters of the highest importance respecting which we have received information, in order that a decision may be reached. The subject was maturely argued and discussed, and several times considered and debated in my presence. Finally, having consulted the opinions of all, I have resolved to command, decree, and ordain the things now herein contained, which, besides the other ordinances and provisions which from time to time we have ordered to be enacted, we command to be observed inviolably as laws from henceforward.

I. Firstly, We order and command that the members of our Council of the Indies who reside at our Court and meet every morning for three hours and in the afternoon for such time as is necessary, as business may arise, shall in future attend in the same way as hitherto. And as in the said Council there are a number of Judges, we order and command that in the cases in which they all sit, which are the suits of five hundred *pesos de oro* and upwards, three votes in agreement may pronounce a decision, and when the other votes differ among themselves, the three can and shall determine the case. And for the quicker settlement of cases not exceeding the said five hundred *pesos* two members of the Council may hear and, if in agreement, settle them.

II. As We have directed certain new rules to be drawn for our *Audiencias* of New Spain, Peru, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and the island of Española, touching the order and procedure they should adopt in considering and determining suits which may come before them, and in the conduct of other things concerning the good government and conservation of those parts and the natives of them, and that the members of our said Council may keep more exactly in mind what powers and duties are allotted to the *Audiencias*

and not recognize nor adjudicate upon anything extraneous thereto, I have directed the said rules to be incorporated here, and we order our said President and members of our Council of the Indies to keep to and comply with what they contain, and neither adjudicate upon nor recognize anything contrary to their tenour and object.

III. We disallow and expressly forbid any servant or retainer of the President or members of our said Council, any Secretary, Public Prosecutor or Reporter to be an attorney or suitor in any business of the Indies, on pain of banishment from the Realm for a term of ten years, and we order every member of the Council above named who may know of it, to punish and prevent such things, as tending to our disservice.

IV. We order and command that it shall be the duty of those of our said Council of the Indies to keep all the laws and ordinances of our kingdoms, and especially those made by our Royal Council and the Judges of our *Audiencias* and the other Judges of our said kingdoms, with reference to purity as regards the receiving any gifts, payment, or loans from litigants and other persons having or expecting to have business before them, nor shall they write any letters of recommendation to the Indies on pain of punishments enacted in the said laws and ordinances.

V. In order that the President and members of our Council of the Indies may be free to devote themselves to the affairs of the government of those parts we decree and command that they shall abstain, as far as possible, from dealing with any private business, for it is with that aim that we have arranged and ordered all that touches the said *Audiencias* and the affairs with which they have to deal. And though the reviewing of *residencias* is a matter that it seems might properly be conducted by the Council, yet, in order that its work of governing may be the more efficient, and that the Council may devote greater attention

to public affairs and meet with less interference from other business—taking into account, too, the great distance to be traversed in reaching those Realms—we order that there shall be brought before our said Council of the Indies only those *residencias* and inquiries that may be held in respect of the Judges and officials of the *Audiencias*, and of our Governors throughout the Indies, and we allow and direct all the others to be heard, adjudged, and determined by the said *Audiencias*, each one in its own district and jurisdiction. As our principal intention and will has always been to preserve and augment the numbers of the Indians, and that they may be instructed and taught the articles of our holy catholic faith, and be well treated as free men and our subjects, as in fact they are, we charge and command our said Council always to give great attention and special care to the conservancy, good government, and good treatment of the said Indians, and to ascertain how our Ordinances are complied with and executed, especially those We have issued and shall issue for the good government of our Indies, and the administration of justice in them, and to see that these are observed, complied with, and put into execution without any remission, fault or neglect.

VI. We charge and order those of our said Council of the Indies to sometimes think over and discuss and learn in what ways we may be justly served and derive advantage in the affairs of the Indies. As observance and compliance with what is enacted or may hereafter be enacted for the good government and welfare of the Indies is of great importance to our service and to the discharge of our conscience, we order our *Procurador Fiscal*,[1] who is or may hereafter be a Member of our Council, always to take great care and be very vigilant in inquiring and learning

[1] Attorney General.

how the laws are being observed and complied with in those parts, and to report the same in our said Council, taking steps against those who do not comply, so as to enforce obedience to what is enacted, and he is to give us notice when this is not done.

VII. We order and command that, in the provinces and Realms of Peru, there shall reside a Viceroy and a Royal *Audiencia* consisting of four learned Judges, the said Viceroy presiding over the said *Audiencia*, which shall be established in the city of The Kings, that being the most convenient position, for henceforward there will be no *Audiencia* in Panamá.

We order that a Royal *Audiencia* shall be established on the confines of Guatemala and Nicaragua, consisting of four learned Judges, one of them being President, as may be appointed by Us, and at present we order that the President shall be the Licentiate Maldonado (who is a judge in the *Audiencia* at Mexico), and that this *Audiencia* shall have charge of the government of the said provinces, and their dependencies, in which provinces there will not be Governors, unless We should otherwise order, and these *Audiencias*, like those established in Santo Domingo, are to observe the following rules:—

Firstly, we will, decree, and command that all the criminal cases of whatever quality or importance which are pending, and that may arise hereafter before any of the four Royal *Audiencias*[1] of the Indies, may be considered, adjudged upon, and decided by our said *Audiencias*, by trial and revision, and the judgments thus given shall be executed and carried into due effect without any further appeal, petition, recourse, or other remedy whatsoever.

In order to avoid the delay which would occur and the great injury, charges, and expense to the litigants, which

[1] Santo Domingo, Mexico, Guatemala with Nicaragua and Peru.

would ensue should they come to our Council of the Indies following on any suit or civil action on which appeal was made from our said *Audiencias*, and in order that justice may be done more quickly and with less loss, we enact and command that in all civil suits which may be brought and which are brought, and are under the consideration of our said *Audiencias* and our said Presidents and Judges who have been or may be appointed, these same shall try them and pass judgment and decide them by trial and revision; and the judgment given on revision may be carried out without there being any further step by appeal, petition, or any other recourse whatever, unless the suit be of such nature and importance that the value of the property in question be ten thousand *pesos de oro* or upwards, in which case we will that they may appeal a second time before our Royal Presence, provided the suitor making the said second appeal do present it before us within one year from the time that the revised judgment is notified to him or to his Attorney.

But we will and command that, notwithstanding the said second appeal, the judgment which the Judges of our said *Audiencias* shall have given on revision be carried out, the suitor, in whose favour it is given, first of all furnishing sufficient security and proof that, if the said judgment be revoked, he will restore and pay whatever he shall have been and will be awarded and granted by that [judgment], according to the decision which shall be given by the persons to whom the matter was by us intrusted. However, if the judgment on revision given in our said *Audiencias* should be on a question of real estate, we declare and command that the second appeal shall not lie, but that the said revised judgment, notwithstanding it be not in accord with the judgment on [first] trial, shall be carried out.

We decree and command that the Judges to whom we

may commit such a suit on second appeal, do examine and decide the suit by the same procedure as would have been followed in our said *Audiencia*, without admitting new evidence or new charges, in conformity with the laws of our kingdoms touching a second appeal.

And in order that our said *Audiencias* may possess the necessary authority, and that what is decreed and ordained by them may be better obeyed and executed, we will and command that the letters, writs and other instruments decreed by them, be issued and delivered in our name and under our royal seal; and let the same be obeyed and complied with like our own letters and writs signed with our Royal Name.

As in each of our said *Audiencias* there are to be four Judges, we decree that all four shall sit in suits for five hundred *pesos de oro* and upwards, and for the settlement of such a suit three votes must be in agreement; but if the suit be for less than five hundred *pesos*, we decree that two votes in complete agreement shall suffice, the other two votes differing from one another. Up to the said sum of five hundred *pesos*, in order to expedite business, two of our said Judges may try, hear, and give judgment if they are in agreement.

Moreover, we decree that in whatever is not here stated or directed our said Presidents and Judges of our said *Audiencias* shall be obliged to observe, and let them observe, the ordinances issued to them by Us and the Rules of Court made for our *Audiencias* established at the City of Grenada and the Town of Valladolid, and the several benches of *Corregidores* and Judges of *Residencia*, and the laws of these our kingdoms and the commentaries and procedure relating to them.

Moreover, we decree that the appeals which are referred from Governors, where there is no Royal *Audiencia*, shall go before the *Audiencia* of that district and jurisdic-

tion, and in such cases we decree that the laws of these kingdoms which do not permit of a second appeal be observed.

X. We decree and order that our said Presidents and Judges be empowered to send and do send to take *residencias* of our Governors who are subject to our said *Audiencias*, and of their Officials and our other Magistrates, how and when it may seem to them proper, according to the suits that may arise. For this purpose they shall send trustworthy and prudent persons who know how to conduct them and do justice to those who have made complaints against them [these officials]—in conformity with the laws of our kingdoms and the rules for *Corregidores*. The reports of *residencias* which may be taken as aforesaid of our Governors of Islands and Provinces are to be sent with all despatch to our Council of the Indies that they may be considered and decided by it. But all other *residencias* which may be taken of our other Magistrates, we will and command that they be examined and adjudged upon, by our Presidents and Judges of our said *Audiencias* and be not sent or brought to our said Council; it is not to be understood from this that the members of our Council may not send and take the *residencia* of the said Governors when it may appear to be necessary.

As one of the principal things in which the said *Audiencias* are to serve us is to take very special care about the good treatment and preservation of the Indians, we command that they shall always keep themselves informed of excesses or bad treatment which are or may be committed by Governors or by private persons, and of how these have observed the Ordinances and instructions that have been given them, which have been made to ensure the good treatment of the Indians; and in so far as such excesses have been or may in future be committed, let the said [*Audiencias*] take care to remedy it, by punishing the

offenders with rigour in conformity with justice; and in suits between Indians or against Indians, let them not permit ordinary procedure to be followed, nor allow the hearing to be protracted, as sometimes happens through the jobbery of some advocates and attorneys, but let them be settled summarily, allowing weight to their usages and customs, if they be not clearly unjust; and let the said *Audiencias* take care that this is observed by the other lesser Judges.

XI. We decree and command that from now onward, neither because of war, even though under the category of rebellion, nor by barter, nor for any other cause in any other way, may any Indian be made a slave; and we wish them to be treated as our subjects of the Crown of Spain, for that they are.

No persons may make the Indians serve by way of "naboria" or "tapia,"[1] nor in any other way against their wills.

As we have decreed a provision that from now henceforward no Indians shall be made slaves, both with regard to those who up to this time have been made so against justice and right, and against enactments and instructions issued, we direct and command that the *Audiencias* summoning the parties shall summarily and briefly, merely ascertaining the truth, without legal quibble, place the enslaved at liberty, unless the persons holding them as slaves can show a title that they hold and own them legally. And in order that Indians should not be held unjustly as slaves for lack of persons to urge the aforesaid, we command the *Audiencias* to appoint persons to manage such suits on behalf of the Indians, and to remunerate them from fines of the Court; and let them be men of integrity and diligence.

XII. We order that, for the protection of the Indians,

[1] *Naboria*—domestic service: *tapia*—task work.

the *Audiencias* are to take special care that these do not carry loads; or, if in some parts it cannot be avoided, that it be done in such a way that the load be not so heavy as to endanger the life, health or preservation of the said Indians, nor be done against their wills, nor unless they are paid. In no circumstances is such work to be forced on them; let those who act otherwise be very severely punished. In this no exception is to be made for any person whatever.

As we have been informed that the pearl fishery has not been conducted with the good order that is desirable, and that it has resulted in the deaths of many Indians and Negroes, we order that no free Indian shall be taken to the said fishery against his will, under pain of death; and let the Bishop and the Judge who may go to Venezuela direct what may appear to them just in order that the slaves employed in the same fishery—Indians as well as Negroes—be protected, and deaths cease. And if it should appear to them that the risk of death cannot be avoided by the said Indians and Negroes, then let the pearl fishery cease; for, as is reasonable, we value much more highly the preservation of lives than the profit which may come to us from the pearls.

As the viceroys, governors and their lieutenants, and our officers, prelates, monasteries, hospitals, religious houses, mints, as well as officers of our revenue, and other persons favoured as officials hold Indians in *encomienda*, and as disorders have arisen in the treatment of those Indians, it is our will and we command that all the Indians they hold and possess shall be promptly placed under [the protection of] our Royal Crown, by whatever title they may have been held by those who are or were viceroys, governors or their lieutenants, or any of our officials of justice, of revenue, of hospitals, confraternities, and other similar bodies. Although the Indians may not have been placed in *encomienda* by virtue of the said offices, and though the

said officials and governors should say they would rather resign their official positions and keep the Indians, they are not thereby excused from compliance.

We further order that all persons who hold Indians without having a title, but have possessed themselves of them on their own authority, are to give them up and place them under our Royal Crown. As we are informed that other persons, though they hold a title, have been given *repartimientos* in excessive quantity, we order our *Audiencias*, each one within its own jurisdiction, to inform themselves fully about this and with all possible despatch, and to reduce the *repartimientos* of such persons to fair and moderate proportions, the rest being promptly brought under our Royal Crown, in spite of any petition and appeal that such persons may make. The *Audiencias* are to send an early account of what they have done that we may know how our commands have been obeyed. In New Spain let especial adjustment be made of the Indians held by Juan Infante, Diego de Ordás, the Master Roa, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, Francisco Maldonado, Bernardino Vásquez de Tapia, Juan Xaramillo, Martín Vásquez, Gil González de Benavides,[1]

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[1] *Juan Infante.* No notice seems to be preserved of this *encomendero.*

Diego de Ordás. Was a native of Campos de Valverde or Castro Verde. He was chief *Mayordomo* to Diego de Velásquez, governor of Cuba, and was sent by him to arrest Cortés at Trinidad, in the Island of Cuba, when he had already started on the expedition to Mexico. Instead of arresting Cortés, D. de Ordás joined his company and was made Captain of one of the ships of the expedition, and became one of the principal leaders. He was the first Spaniard to ascend Popocatepetl. After the fall of Mexico he was sent by Cortés on a mission to Spain, when he was made a *Comendador* of the order of Santiago, had the grant of Indians which had been made to him in Mexico confirmed by the Emperor, and was given a smoking mountain (Popocatepetl) as his coat of arms. He then went back to Mexico, and two or three years later returned to Castile, and petitioned for leave to conquer the Marañón region, where he lost his life. He was about forty years old when he left Cuba for Mexico.

Maestro Roa. When describing the festivities in Mexico to celebrate the peace made by Francis I and the Emperor at Aguas Muertas,

and other persons of whom it is said that they hold a very excessive number of Indians, according to information which has been given us. As we have also been informed that there

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Bernal Díaz says (ch. cci): "After this, on the following morning, half this same *Plaza* had been turned into the City of Rhodes with its towers , . . and of the hundred knights commanders . . . the Marquis Cortés was their commander and the Grand Master of Rhodes. . . .

"I want to add an amusing story concerning a settler in Mexico called the Master of Rhodes (Maestro de Roda) already an old man, who had a great wen on his neck. He had the name of Master of Rhodes because they called him purposely Master of Rhodes, and it was he for whom the Marquis had sent to Castile to heal his right arm, which he had broken in a fall from a horse after his return from Honduras, and he paid him very well for coming to cure his arm, and gave him some *pueblos* of Indians.

"When the festivals which I have mentioned were over, as this Master of Rhodes was one of the chroniclers [of the festivities], and was a good talker, he went to Castile at that time, and became so well acquainted with the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, the wife of the *Comendador Mayor*, one Francisco de los Cobos, that he bewitched her, and promised to give her drugs so that she should bear a child, and he said this in such a way that she believed him, and the Señora Doña Maria promised him that if she bore a child she would give him two thousand ducats, and would support him before the Royal Council of the Indies in obtaining further *pueblos* of Indians. This same Master of Rhodes also promised Cardinal de Cigüenza, who was President of the Council of the Indies, that he would cure him of the gout, and the President believed him, and they allotted him, on the order of the Cardinal and through the support of the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, very good Indians, better than those he owned. What he did in the matter of cures was to heal neither the Marquis's arm (if anything he left him more crippled, although he paid him very well and gave him the Indians I have mentioned), nor did the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza ever bear a child, for all the hot sweetmeats of sarsaparilla which he ordered her to take, nor did he cure the Cardinal of the gout; but he kept the bars of gold which Cortés gave him, and the Indians which the Royal Council of the Indies bestowed upon him in New Spain.

"He left behind him in Castile among the traders who had gone to law [about Indians] a joke, to the effect that a little sarsaparilla which the Master of Rhodes had brought with him was worth more than all the services the true *conquistadores* had rendered to his Majesty, for owing to this name, which had been given him of Master of Rhodes, and through being a good talker, he had deceived both the President and the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, while other *conquistadores*, however much they had served his Majesty, got no benefits at all." [Hakluyt Society, Series II, vol. 40, pp. 191, 197-8.]

Francisco Vázquez Coronado. I do not think he was an original *conquistador*; he probably arrived later in Mexico. He was an intimate friend of Antonio de Mendoza the first Viceroy of Mexico. He married the daughter of Alonso de Estrada, the Treasurer of Mexico.

are some persons in New Spain who were among the first *conquistadores*, and yet have no *repartimiento* of Indians, we order that the President and Judges of the said New Spain

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He was appointed Governor of the State of Jalisco, and left his government to undertake the conquest of Cibola—"the seven cities."

Bernal Díaz says of him: "Francisco Vázquez had been lately married to a lady who was a daughter of the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada, and, in addition to being talented, was very beautiful; and as he went to those cities of Cibola he had a great desire to return to New Spain to his wife. Some of the soldiers who were in his company said that he wished to copy the Greek Captain Ulysses, who when he was before Troy was crazy to go and enjoy his wife Penelope, so did Francisco Vázquez Coronado, who left the Conquest he had undertaken. He was attacked by incipient madness and returned to Mexico to his wife, and as they reproached him for having returned in that way, he died within a few days."

Later on Bernal Díaz says: "Nor will I call to mind the expedition which Francisco Vázquez Coronado made from Mexico to the cities which they call Cibola, for as I did not go with him I have no right to speak of it."

Francisco Maldonado. Must have been one of the original *conquistadores* as he signed the first letter of the Army of Cortés to the Emperor. However, there were five men of the name of Maldonado mentioned by Bernal Díaz. Two of them may be ruled out as their names, Alonzo and Alvaro, are given—a third, a native of Medellin, returned to Cuba, invalided. Francisco Maldonado was therefore probably either "Maldonado 'el ancho,' a native of Salamanca and a distinguished person who had been in command of expeditions, who died a natural death," or "Maldonado of Vera Cruz, who was the husband of Doña Maria de Rincon."

Bernaldino Vázquez de Tapia. An original *conquistador*, as he signed the first letter to the Emperor. He is mentioned as chosen to accompany Pedro de Alvarado on an embassy to Montezuma, when Cortés was at Tlaxcala—but he fell ill on the road and the embassy was recalled. When the first Royal *Audiencia* of Mexico was dismissed and many disputes arose, Bernaldino Vázquez was chosen by the *conquistadores* as Proctor to go to Spain and represent the interests of Cortés. Bernal Díaz says of him, "a very distinguished and rich man, who died a natural death."

Juan Jaramillo. Was captain of a launch during the siege of Mexico. He accompanied Cortés on the expedition to Honduras, and on the way, at Orizaba, he was married to Doña Marina the mistress of Cortés. He died a natural death.

Martín Vázquez. An original *conquistador* described by Bernal Díaz as "a native of Olmedo, a rich and distinguished man" who became a settler in Mexico—died a natural death.

Gil González de Benavides. Was not an original *conquistador*, but he accompanied Cortés on his expedition to Honduras. He was the brother of the distinguished *conquistador* and Captain Alonzo de Avila, who had received the *encomienda* of the pueblo of Cuautitlan,

find out about such persons and award them, from the tribute the Indians who may be released will have to pay, what shall appear to them a sufficient sustenance and fair provision for the said *conquistadores* who are without *repartimientos*.

The said *Audiencias* shall enquire how the Indians have been treated by the persons who have held them in *encomienda*; and, if it should appear that they ought in justice to be deprived of their Indians, owing to excesses and ill treatment of them, we order that they be promptly so deprived, and that such Indians be placed under [the protection of] our Royal Crown. The Viceroy and the *Audiencia* shall furthermore enquire, with reference to settlers in Peru, into the excesses which followed the affair between the Governors Pizarro and Almagro, in order to send us a report on the subject; and from the leaders whom they find chiefly to blame in those revolutions let them take any Indians they hold, and place them under the protection of our Royal Crown.

We further order and command that from now forward no Viceroy, Governor, *Audiencia*, explorer, or other person whatsoever, has the right to allot Indians in *encomienda* whether by original indenture, transfer, gift, sale, or in any other form or manner, nor by voidance or inheritance; but when a person who owned Indians dies let them be placed under our Royal Crown. It shall be the duty of the *Audiencias* to forthwith inform themselves specially about the person who dies, his condition, merits and services, how he treated the Indians he held, whether he left wife and children, and what other heirs, and to send us a report of the nature of the Indians and the estate, that We may dispose

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near Mexico. When Alonzo de Avila left Mexico he gave his brother power of attorney, so that he might benefit from the *encomienda*, and on the death of Alonzo de Avila the Crown claimed the *encomienda*, and I think there was a lawsuit about it.

The two sons of Gil González were beheaded for conspiracy.

what may be proper for our service, and grant such aid as shall seem good to us to the widow and children. If in the meanwhile it should appear to the *Audiencia* that it is necessary to provide some maintenance for such widow and children it may be done by making them a moderate allowance from the tribute to be paid by the said Indians, the Indians themselves remaining under our Royal Crown as above stated.

XIII. We order and command that our said Presidents and Judges take great care that Indians who become liberated or unclaimed in any of the above ways be very well treated, and instructed in the doctrines of our holy Catholic faith, and remain, as our subjects, free men. This is to be their principal care and that to which we would have them pay particular attention, and in which they can best serve us; and let them see to it that the Indians are governed with justice in the orderly way that the Indians who are under the protection of our Royal Crown are now governed in New Spain.

As it is reasonable that those who have served as explorers of the said Indies, and those who have helped by settling in them and have their wives there, should have preference in the benefits, we order that in making appointments to magistracies and other positions of advancement our Viceroys, Presidents, and Judges of our said *Audiencias* shall prefer the first *conquistadores*, and after them the married settlers, provided that they are persons competent to fulfil the duties; and until these are provided for, no other person be considered.

As the hearing of lawsuits brought by Spaniards claiming Indians has been followed by serious objections, it is our pleasure and we direct that from now forward such suits shall not be heard either in the Indies or in our Council of the Indies, whether in respect of Indians under our Royal Crown or in the possession of another third

party; but that every claim that may be preferred upon this subject shall be submitted to Us, in order that after obtaining the information proper to the case we may order it to be settled. Any suit that is now pending, whether before our Council in the Indies, or in any other place, we order to be suspended and not heard further, the case being referred to Us.

As one of the things wherein, as we are informed, irregularities have occurred, and may again arise in the future, is the manner of conducting explorations, We order and command that in such service the following procedure be observed:—he who desires to make discoveries by sea shall apply to the *Audiencia* of that district and jurisdiction for a Permit, and having obtained it he may proceed to explore, provided that, on pain of death, he do not take any Indian either from islands or mainland, even though he say that they sell them as slaves and this be so, or even though they wish to come voluntarily (excepting as to three or four as interpreters), nor may he seize or be in possession of anything against the will of the Indians, unless by way of barter and in presence of the person appointed by the *Audiencia*. The explorer shall observe the rules and comply with the instructions that the *Audiencia* may give him, on pain of forfeiture of all his goods and [arrest of] his person, at our discretion. He shall be instructed to take possession in Our name of all the places he may reach, and record all the latitudes.

XIV. Every such explorer is to afterwards submit to the *Audiencia* an account of what he has done and discovered, and the *Audiencia* shall send the full report to our Council of the Indies, that it may decide what is appropriate for God's service and our own. And let such explorer be charged with the settlement of the parts he has discovered, and have the reward that we may grant him in proportion to his labour, achievements, and expenses. The *Audiencia*

is to send with each explorer one or two *religiosos*, approved persons; and if such *religiosos* should wish to remain in the country discovered they may do so.

XV. No Viceroy or Governor is to undertake new discoveries by land or sea, because of the inconveniences which have resulted from the same individual being at once an explorer and Governor.

XVI. Agreements and contracts having been made with some persons at present engaged in exploration we will and command that notwithstanding any contract that may have been made with them, such explorers do keep and observe what is contained in these Ordinances, and in the instructions which the *Audiencia* may have given them, provided the latter be not contrary to what we have ordained. Let them be notified that if they do not obey, or should exceed in anything, they will in such case, and *ipso facto*, be suspended from their appointments, and will incur the loss of all favours they might have derived from Us; moreover their persons shall be at our mercy. We order the *Audiencias*, each one of them within its own district and jurisdiction, to issue to the said explorers instructions that may appear proper, in conformity with what they will be able to gather of our intentions from these our decrees, in order that exploration may be conducted with more rectitude, and that the Indians may be well treated, and safeguarded, and instructed in the tenets of our holy faith. And let especial care always be taken to find out how this is being attended to, and to ensure its being carried out.

In addition to the aforesaid we command the said persons who are exploring at our orders to promptly make a valuation of the tribute or service which the Indians in the land discovered should render as our vassals, and let the same tribute be moderate, so that they can endure it, bearing in mind the preservation of these same Indians;

and the *Comendero*, where there is one, may be supported from such tribute. In this way let the Spaniards have neither authority nor intimacy with Indians, nor any ascendancy or command (over them) and let them not make use of them either for domestic service or in other way whatever, in much or in little, nor do more than enjoy their tribute in accordance with the rules which the *Audiencia* or Governor may issue for its collection. Let this (be in force) until We, being informed of the quality of the land, decree what settlement is proper. And let this be placed among the other clauses of the contract with the said explorers.

It often happens that persons who live in the Indies come or send to beg us to grant a favour about some affairs of theirs out there, and that from not having knowledge here concerning the character of persons who submit such petitions, or their merits or ability, nor respecting the substance of their petitions, the case cannot be duly and satisfactorily dealt with. We therefore decree that such a person should show cause before the *Audiencia* on the spot for what he wishes to petition Us, so that the Judges of the said *Audiencia* may inform themselves respecting the character of the petitioner and the particulars of his plaint; and let them send such information, together with their opinion thereon, closed and under seal, to our Council of the Indies, so that by this means more light may be thrown on what decision it will be proper in our interests to come to.

It is our will and we decree that the Indians now alive in the islands of San Juan, and in Cuba and Española, both for the present and as long as it shall be our pleasure, be not oppressed with tribute or other royal services, whether of a personal or mixed kind, in excess of what is due from Spaniards who reside in the said islands; but let them be left at their ease that they may the better increase

and be instructed in the tenets of our holy catholic faith; and with this object let suitable religious persons be assigned them.

The said Ordinances and matters comprised in this our letter, each one matter and every part thereof, we command you all and each one of you, in your said places and jurisdictions respectively, as aforesaid, to abide by and carry out and cause to be observed and obeyed and executed in all respects unreservedly and with the utmost diligence and particular care as laid down in this our letter. You are neither to go against nor overstep its form or meaning, nor allow it to be contravened or exceeded either now or at any time whatsoever, or in any manner: under the penalties stated in it. And in order that all the abovementioned [provisions] may be the more widely known, especially among the natives of our said Indies in whose behalf and for whose benefit it is enacted, We command that this our letter be printed from type and sent to all our Indies to the *religiosos* entrusted with teaching the said Indians, whom we charge to get it translated into the Indian language, that these may understand it better and know what is provided. Let no party fail in this in any respect, on pain of our displeasure and [a fine of] a thousand *castellanos de oro* for our treasury for each one who shall act to the contrary. Furthermore, We command the man who will show you this letter to summon you, and you to appear, before Us at our Court wherever We may be, within one year from the date of such summoning, under the said penalty; under the which likewise we direct our public notary who shall be called for this duty to deliver a certificate signed with his sign to the effect that he has shown this [letter] to you, that we may know how our command is obeyed.

Given at the city of Barcelona on the twentieth day of the month of November, in the year of the birth of our

Saviour Jesus Christ one thousand and five hundred and forty-two.

I, THE KING,

I, Juan de Samano, Secretary to their Cæsarean and Catholic Majesties, caused it to be written by command.

Fr. Garsias, Cardinalis Hispalensis.

Doctor Guevara.

Doctor Figueroa.

Registered. Ochoa de Luyando.

For the Chancellor. Ochoa de Luyando.

CHAPTER C

How, as soon as they had drawn up the Ordinances, they sent them to most parts of the Indies; how in some places great resentment was shown, while in others there were no slight disturbances, and how in the city of Lima the Municipality despatched the alcalde Palomino and Don Antonio de Rivera to apprise Vaca de Castro of it.

AS had been ordered by his Majesty the Emperor, with the concurrence of the Grandees and Prelates, clergy and members of his Royal Council, the Ordinances or laws for the government of the Indies, which we have quoted, were forthwith sent to New Spain, Española, Popayán, and Cartagena to be put in force. The Licentiate Hernando Díaz de Armendáriz came to the interior provinces, and when the tenour of the Ordinances became noised abroad it caused great excitement. Many who had spent their lives in the conquests, and had grown old in the discoveries, displayed great gloom, so that their countenances reflected the anxiety of their minds. In many places there were meetings and assemblies to discuss the Ordinances, at which it was proposed to report to his Majesty

so that he might order their petitions to be entertained until he could be better informed; for the thing had been done on statements of infatuated friars. In New Spain, however, there was a man abounding in virtues and quick to perceive what was best both for the King's service and the pacification of the country, Don Antonio de Mendoza. With great patience and goodwill he ignored the first outburst of the people, waiting until the general excitement had abated; and then, with loving words, though weighty, he not only gave hearing to their petitions but forthwith suspended the Ordinances, advising his Majesty that it was best so for his service. In other provinces also those who governed acted prudently and did the same; while in yet other parts they waited, as all the rest are doing now, because that course was wisest for the welfare and tranquillity of those Realms and best, moreover, for the natives, as any reasonable man will understand.

When the copy of the laws was brought by Diego de Aller to Panamá, there was in that Realm the captain Alonso de Alvarado who, ceasing to listen to vain talk, departed for Spain after having expressed the opinion I have just written. Then Juan de Cáceres the accountant, and others who were there, sent the transcript of the Ordinances to Peru. As soon as they reached that Realm great excitement arose, it being made known that they were very stringent. Alonso Palomino, who was then *alcalde* of the city of Lima, and Antonio de Rivera, were at once sent off in great haste to the city of Cuzco, where the Governor Vaca de Castro was, to give him an account of the unrest, that he might form an opinion on the best course to be adopted for the common weal and the safety of the Realm. They set out accordingly for Cuzco, where they found Vaca de Castro very indignant because the municipality of Lima had refused to receive the Bachelor Juan Vélez de Guevara as his Deputy. He sent a constable

of his to Lima to summon the officials of New Castille to appear before him at Cuzco; and, at the same time, he directed certain gold of the royal fifths, amounting to a hundred thousand *pesos*, to be sent to Spain. And because the royal officials of New Toledo were feeling aggrieved that Cuzco fell within the limits of that province, the Governor, after the latitude in which it stands had been well observed, and other points noted, ruled that it lay within the government of New Castille together with fifteen leagues beyond it, and that Arequipa and the very rich districts of the Charcas and Collao were to be included.

In Spain, after the promulgation of the New Laws, they discussed who should be sent to Peru as Viceroy. News came that it would be Don Antonio de Leyva, then again that it was the Marshal of Navarre. Some allege that this was whom his Majesty intended, but that the Marshal answered that he would not go out to deprive those who were in the Indies of their property, to which they were so justly entitled. It was also said here that in Spain many held that the men in the Indies were of mean position, and a poor lot who could easily be made to think that it would be best to comply with the Ordinances, and that very little sufficed to enable them to live as their fathers did. These things were heard by the people over here with great indignation, and, laying their hands on their beards, they said that it was clear that the glory of Spain's past was entirely attributable to its illustrious men. Their indignation was the greater in that all who dwelt in the Realms of New Spain and Peru were men of ancient lineage, whose forefathers had distinguished themselves in the wars which the Kings of Spain waged against the Moors. Finally, there was a wild tumult, the news flying from one part to another, and foreshadowing a recurrence of great evils.

CHAPTER CI

Of what further took place between the captains, Felipe Gutiérrez and Francisco de Mendoza, and how, after having explored some provinces down the river, Felipe Gutiérrez was arrested by Francisco de Mendoza.

THE reader will remember how, in previous chapters, we said that the general Felipe Gutiérrez went exploring down the *Soconcho* river, taking Francisco de Mendoza with him. Having formed his camp among people there, well supplied with provisions, Felipe Gutiérrez turned his attention to his plan of depriving Mendoza of the command he held. He sent to ask him for his papers, representing that he did so of a purpose, and because he wished him well, in order that the soldiers should not influence him to any step that might give rise to a renewal of mischief in the camp which would cause them all to be lost, for in no way was it possible for two leaders to govern the same force. Francisco de Mendoza was in no mind to resign the post that had been given to him, and replied to Felipe Gutiérrez that he would not consider any such proposal, because he would rather lose his life than his command. After this exchange of views the friends of Francisco de Mendoza warned him to look out for himself, because Felipe Gutiérrez wanted to kill him. He was astonished to hear such things and always kept men in his tent to help him if they should see him in any pass. The general Felipe Gutiérrez moved from there to another large province; and, leaving Sotomayor on guard over the camp, set out in quest of discoveries, taking Francisco de Mendoza with him and such men as he thought fit. He followed the river towards the west,[1] and they found the land flat and covered with trees

[1] *Poniente.*

and explored it for fifty leagues, where he came to a well-peopled country. They had great battles with the barbarians in which, although a few Christians and horses were wounded, many of the natives were left dead upon the field. After having advanced the distance stated, they found no more inhabitants, and Felipe Gutiérrez wanted to go in search of some, either in one direction or another. The soldiers murmured against him, saying that if they had gone to explore in the direction of sunrise they would have found rich settlements where all might gain advantage, and that he had neither the sagacity nor the prudence requisite for undertaking this conquest.

Francisco de Mendoza, glad to hear these things, cunningly began to give out that it was not Felipe Gutiérrez who was to blame, but the soldiers themselves for having him as their general, since he had not the ability to command them. In fine he said such things that he moved their minds to do a very disgraceful deed, and one deserving of severe punishment, for, revealing himself as the author of the stroke, this infatuated youth Francisco de Mendoza, accompanied by those who were his accomplices, went to the tent of his courageous though careless leader Felipe Gutiérrez and, raising the flap of his tent, shouted at him: "Why, Felipe Gutiérrez, do you wish to kill me?" Aroused from a deep sleep by the loud voice, Felipe Gutiérrez said, "I kill you, Señor Captain Francisco de Mendoza? I have never thought of such a thing." Without more words they all rushed in upon him, seized him, and put him in chains, robbing him of all he possessed, which was no small quantity. Not content with his capture they cried out that he should be killed. Francisco de Mendoza answered that there was no cause to kill him, and that it would be enough to turn him out of the country. Felipe Gutiérrez, finding himself thus treated, and seeing the disgraceful conduct of the people, fearing they would kill him, begged Francisco

de Mendoza to spare his life, and this he promised to do. From thence Francisco de Mendoza turned back towards the place where Sotomayor had remained with the camp, carrying Felipe de Gutiérrez, and four others who were suspected, as prisoners. These were Diego Álvarez, Juan Gutiérrez, Valderrama and another. When they were near the camp, Mendoza left Ruy Sánchez de Hinojosa in charge of the prisoners, and went to the camp himself at night. On entering it he gave orders that no person was to go outside of his house on pain of death, and then Francisco de Mendoza managed his affair with such adroitness, that he got all the people over to his side. In the morning Mass was said, and when it was finished all took the oath to him as Lieutenant for the Governor, just as Felipe Gutiérrez had ordered when Diego de Rojas died. He then ordered Hinojosa to come in with the prisoners, and a close watch was kept over them.

CHAPTER CII

Of other things done by Francisco de Mendoza, and how he sent to arrest Nicolás de Heredia and sent Felipe Gutiérrez away.

AFTER Francisco de Mendoza had gained the people over, and been received as captain, and sworn to as such, he ordered one Juan García to go with twenty-six men and turn Felipe Gutiérrez out of the province; that, with six mounted men, he might find his way back to Peru. García was also to arrest Nicolás de Heredia, the Camp-master, and to take away his arms and those of the men who were with him, fearing lest, Felipe Gutiérrez being absent, he might seek for means to take command by virtue of the commission he held from Vaca de Castro. Nicolás

de Heredia had remained behind with some Spaniards who were sick, and the captains having gone far ahead, he had not been able to join them; while, the Indians having made fierce war upon him, he and his companions had shown much spirit in defending themselves against them.

After taking charge of Felipe Gutiérrez and the six who were to go with him, Juan García started off and marched until he came to where Nicolás de Heredia was encamped, whom, suspecting nothing, he arrested. Then, having taken Felipe Gutiérrez and his six companions as far as the outskirts of the mountain country, he left them. With great risk to themselves and their horses, and with much difficulty, they reached Cuzco at a time when Vaca de Castro had already left the city and Gonzalo Pizarro was wishing to set out for Lima.

Juan García returned to Francisco de Mendoza, taking Nicolás de Heredia with him and, before they arrived at the camp, Mendoza ordered Gabriel Hernández to go and tell Heredia, from him, that he was there as captain, that all had sworn to him as such, and that Heredia must do the same, or else go the same road as Felipe Gutiérrez. Gabriel Hernández, having arrived at the place where Heredia was, warned him that it would not do to act otherwise, and Nicolás de Heredia took the oath to Francisco de Mendoza as his captain, as the rest had done. To make it more binding they divided the Host between them. Thence they set out in search of food, always hearing some yelling of the Indians, who were so numerous that they could not be fairly reckoned.

Francisco de Mendoza next ordered Juan García to go with thirty Spaniards and explore towards the uplands of Popayán,[1] and he was away for three months, finding several native settlements, and hearing news of very prosperous

[1] This must be an error, probably for Tucumán.

ones farther on. In many of the *pueblos* they saw they found no other bread than *algarroba*,[1] and the natives were barbarous and of low type. There were many ewes. Being in want of horse shoes, they [Juan García's party] returned to where Francisco de Mendoza remained, who, in view of their long absence, was about to send and find out what had become of them. Before this, leaving Nicolás de Heredia in charge of the camp, Mendoza had set out to see if he could find some profitable country, but came upon nothing good, so he resolved to go and explore in the direction Felipe Gutiérrez had taken; and this he did, after the return of Juan García and his companions. But, coming to swamps and morasses, they were unable to pass them; so sending some of his party back to the camp with Pedro López de Ayala, Mendoza with the remainder ascended a cordillera or chain of hills which traverses those plains and came to some settlements, and to many streams which rise in the uplands. After exploring for a distance of eighty leagues and seeing the country was well supplied, where the camp could be maintained, and having information of other provinces farther on, he went back in order to return there with the whole of his people. Coming to a village on the track, they camped near it for the night, but when the barbarians found out that they had come there, thinking they would sleep in the houses, they got fire ready so as to burn them when they should be inside. In the second watch of the night numbers of Indians came with a great rush and set fire to the village, which was burnt. Had the Christians been within doors they would have been in danger, for the fire was widespread and very sudden. And, though they themselves were not sleeping in the houses, they had put all their stores inside them and these were consumed in the fire. Some

[1] *Prosopis* (*Sp. var.*), yielding a bean.

horses and mules were also burnt, and many of the servants. The Christians, with great commotion, got up in astonishment at what was happening, for they had not seen a single Indian; and thenceforward they continued their march very cautiously, lest any such disaster as this should occur again.

On reaching the camp Francisco de Mendoza remained there for several days, waiting for the maize to ripen, as at that time it was only in leaf. Afterwards he set out from that place with all his men, intending to proceed in the direction of sunrise, because the cordillera he had discovered lay on that bearing. After eight days' march Mendoza judged it wise to go forward himself and explore the route in advance, and selecting sixty Spaniards, he prepared to do so, leaving Nicolás de Heredia in charge of the camp with orders to follow after him; where we will let him be for the present.

CHAPTER CIII

How his Majesty the Emperor, our Lord, ordered Blasco Nuñez Vela to proceed as Viceroy to the Realms of Peru, to give effect there to the new laws that had been enacted for the government of the empire of the Indies.

AS his Majesty the Emperor Don Carlos our Lord, most fortunate King of the Spains, and the members of his very high Council, had considered many times who should go to Peru as Viceroy to maintain peace in those provinces and enforce the New Laws, and notwithstanding that several Spanish gentlemen had been discussed with that view, his Majesty fixed his eyes on Blasco Nuñez Vela, a native of the city of Ávila, of noble descent, and very zealous for the royal service. He had already occupied

important posts in Spain; and it was always said that he had discharged the duties of them with fidelity. He had been chief Magistrate of Malaga, on the frontier of Navarre he was Inspector-General, and he once came to this country as Captain-General of the Fleet to fetch the treasure that was here. He was tall, of good bearing, and gentle mien, he had clear, light blue eyes, aquiline features, a broad forehead, a thick and very imposing beard, was an excellent horseman in both saddles, and quick of apprehension save that it was not very sure. He was one of those who always lay themselves out to serve their king; very God-fearing, homely, modest, well bred, an enemy to traitors, the friend of loyalty, he was always ready to rely upon himself, and put little faith in his followers, but this I attribute more to the perversity of men in this country than to his own worth. He was a passionate man and quick to anger; after reaching this country he placed full confidence in no person, and thus, impulsive as he was in his wrath he was equally so in killing those who angered him. This was the person his Majesty summoned before him and told that it would befit the royal service if he were to go to Peru and be Viceroy there, and bring those regions under a just rule, and give effect therein to the New Laws which had been made for the government of the Realm.

Blasco Núñez Vela, it is said, felt regret that his Majesty had ordered him to go; but although this was so, he replied that he would do all that his Majesty might wish, having been born with that obligation upon him. After other things, of which history does not call for treatment here, Blasco Núñez Vela was appointed Viceroy of Peru, and President of the *Audiencia* which was to be established at Lima. The Ordinances were given to him to enforce, dealing specially with each section by itself. Having received the despatches and instructions, kissed the hands of his Majesty, and taken leave of the Lords of the Council,

Blasco Núñez Vela went to the city of Ávila, to enjoy a few days with his wife and children. He left that city accompanied by his brother, Francisco Velásquez Vela Núñez, Diego Alvarez de Cueto his brother-in-law, and other gentlemen who were his relations or friends, and set out with a great quantity of luggage and equipment for Seville. When it became known in Spain that Blasco Núñez Vela had been selected to be Viceroy of Peru, there were murmurs, and it was said no good would come of it, but that, on the contrary, great evils would arise from his going there, for that he was not the man to keep peace in that land. They affirm that the Marquis del Valle, D. Hernando Cortés, the mirror of governors and captains in the Indies, said publicly many times that Blasco Núñez Vela would not succeed in establishing peace in Peru because the people who live there are unruly and self-willed, and that when he himself was conducting the exploration of New Spain he used to set up crosses along all the roads, whereas the leaders who had discovered Peru had been always envious of each other, and there was hidden rancour between them, and transactions that ended in the battles of which everybody has heard. The commonalty of Spain and the people at large rejoiced at the promulgation of the new laws, and desired that those living in the Indies should be governed by them. The gentry and men of backbone, who understand what fortitude is, said that if the residents in the Indies were to obey the Ordinances on all points they would be for ever reproached as weaklings, and the sons who might be born to them would live in affliction through the supineness of their fathers.

When Blasco Núñez Vela arrived [at Seville], he found there the Judges who had been appointed, and there was great confidence that they would discharge their duties well. Their names were the Licentiate Cepeda, who was a Judge in the Canary Isles, Dr. Tejada, the Licentiate Alvarez,

and the Licentiate Zaratena. With these he set out for the spacious port of San Lucar de Barrameda, and ordered the ships to be got ready in which he and those who were going out with him expected to sail—wishing himself already in the land of the Indies.

CHAPTER CIV

How the Alcalde Alonso Palomino and Don Antonio de Rivera arrived at the city of Cuzco, and what happened.

WE have already related, farther back, how the municipality of Lima ordered the *alcalde* Alonso Palomino and Don Antonio Rivera to set out and travel, with all speed, to the great city of Cuzco, where they would find Vaca de Castro, and to give him the Ordinances which the accountant Juan de Cáceres had sent from Panamá, that he might decide what course would be best for the Realm. Palomino and Rivera arrived at Cuzco, causing disquiet to those who were inclined for peace, urging that such a calamity as this must not be let pass, for they all knew with what labour these regions had been explored. Vaca de Castro, having seen the Ordinances, and, being a discreet man, in no wise lost patience. On the contrary, he summoned the following citizens to meet in the municipal chamber:

Capt. Garcilaso de la Vega,
Don Martín de Guzmán,
Hernando Bachicao,
Juan Julio de Ojeda,
Juan Vélez de Guevara,
Diego Maldonado.

When they had assembled he caused the Ordinances to be read to them in his presence. The officers of the municipality then discussed the matter in session, saying that

that city was the headpiece of the Realm and the others should be governed by it. The Emperor, our Lord, being so Christian a prince, it was not seemly to believe that, without hearing their objections, he should wish to deprive them of their property; and that the Ordinances could not be wholly complied with, notwithstanding that they must obey them as coming from their natural King. Vaca de Castro replied with some warmth that they should be silent rather than show such temper, because, since his Majesty had ordered that the Ordinances were to come into force, it had to be done and they must bow to the command, as that of their natural King and Lord. He said, further, that they must wait for the arrival of the Viceroy who, it might be, would consent to submit their petition before the royal presence. Meanwhile, they would not be dispossessed either of their estates or of Indians.

Subsequently, the *alcalde* Palomino, Don Antonio de Rivera, Hernando Bachicao, and Cermeño and others, according to report, wrote to Gonzalo Pizarro at his estate where he was staying, acquainting him with the Ordinances that had arrived, urging him to stand as the defender of everyone. For, said they, he was the brother of the Governor who opened up these countries and, in times and necessities like the present, gentlemen should show their worth, and the whole Realm would be with him to help and petition against these laws, and would venture their persons and estates in that cause. The letters I mention having been prepared, they were sent with all speed to where Gonzalo Pizarro was staying; and the messenger presently returned to Lima. After these things had occurred Vaca de Castro, with the concurrence of the leading citizens of Cuzco, arranged to send messengers to all the cities and towns in the Realm. They were told to appoint proctors whom they were to send to him to prepare for despatching representatives to Spain, with all possible

speed, to inform his Majesty as to what was fitting in the interests of his royal service, and to entreat him to sanction an appeal against some of the Ordinances. When Francisco de Caravajal, who was Sergeant-Major at the battle of Chupas, heard that the Viceroy would soon arrive with the Ordinances, being a man of good understanding and clear judgment (though he afterwards put his talents to so bad a use) he spoke to Vaca de Castro, telling him that he well knew what a loyal friend he [Caravajal] had been to him, as the Governor had always found him ready with his services in all the recent events. He therefore now asked a favour, which was that he might depart for Spain, where he would give the King an account of affairs in Peru, and tell him how poorly the *conquistadores* had been requited for the great services they had done for his Majesty. Without this, the promulgation of the Ordinances that were coming would be rendered serious and difficult. Vaca de Castro and the officers of the municipality, after considering the matter in council, agreed that Francisco de Caravajal should go on the errand he proposed, and if perchance he should meet Blasco Núñez Vela who, it was now generally known, was coming as Viceroy, he was to explain the state of the Realm to him and counsel him to approach it with sentiments of consideration and forbearance, so as to preclude any revival of sedition.

There was great excitement among the people throughout the Realm when they heard about the Ordinances. The Spaniards were deeply chagrined, and declared that in the subjugation of this country many had lost their lives, and that to come here they had parted with their properties in Spain; while others, too, had grown old in campaigning in these regions—all without receiving royal pay or any reward except the Indians they held in *encomienda*, who were now, at their [liege's] death, to be

taken from the widow. In such circumstances what could be expected but that, forced by necessity, they should do ugly things and act against [the dictates of] their honour? And that their children would be left in poverty and their services meet with no recompense? Besides this they said that as for taking away from them the Indians whom they had obtained with so much labour, better were it that they should kill them all. And not only was this question about the Ordinances talked over, but false rumours were spread that all who might be found guilty of having been concerned in previous disturbances would be punished with great severity. The commotion among the people also gave rise to other versions which were all greedily listened to, and flew with great celerity from one place to another nourishing profound discontent and angry passions. Some showed the wounds they had sustained in their campaigns, which made the womenfolk shed many tears, saying that if their husbands were deprived of their estates, where could they themselves go to to maintain their lives with honour, being so far away from Spain? The agitation was greatest in the city of Cuzco, because the news was received there with acute displeasure: insomuch that angry words were bandied about, coming deep from their breasts, some of them violent and boding ill for the King's service.

When Vaca de Castro was informed of what was being said, being anxious to preserve the Realm in peace, tranquillity, and contentment, and to stifle the wild utterances of persons who spoke so freely, he sent for Diego de Silva and Juan Vélez de Guevara (*alcaldes*) and said to them: "Go ye through the city, and if ye hear any one speak openly against the King's service hang such a man at once, without waiting to make a deposition." When Diego de Silva and the other *alcalde* heard the talk that was going on, and learnt about the gatherings, and that the

people were firm in their contentions and making common cause to resist, and not obey, the Ordinances, they went relentlessly through the city ordering all to hold their peace, on pain of death; and they warned the principal citizens to have patience, and wait to see what his Majesty would order, and whether the Viceroy would forward the petition against the Laws. To this it is said they answered, that if his Majesty did it to raise money, they and their city would make him a present of five hundred thousand ducats. So Francisco de Caravajal departed from Cuzco, very pleased at quitting Peru at this time, carrying despatches from the Governor Vaca de Castro, and from the people of Cuzco to the municipal authorities of Lima desiring them to write to his Majesty.

THE END

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